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# CHAMPLAIN

Champlain

*THE MAKERS OF CANADA*

# CHAMPLAIN

BY

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# CONTENTS


*CHAPTER I* Page

CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA . . 1

*CHAPTER II*

ACADIA—STE. CROIX ISLAND—PORT ROYAL . 17

*CHAPTER III*

THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC . . . 39

*CHAPTER IV*

CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES OF 1610, 1611, 1613 . 59

*CHAPTER V*

THE RÉCOLLETS AND THEIR MISSIONS . . 81

*CHAPTER VI*

WAR AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, 1615 . . 101

# CONTENTS


*CHAPTER VII*

Page

FUR TRADE . . . . . 119

*CHAPTER VIII*

CHAMPLAIN, THE JESUITS AND THE SAVAGES . 143

*CHAPTER IX*

THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE OR HUNDRED ASSOCIATES . . . . . 167

*CHAPTER X*

THE CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC, 1629 . . 187

*CHAPTER XI*

THE LAST EVENTS OF 1629 . . . 199

*CHAPTER XII*

QUEBEC RESTORED . . . . . 211

*CHAPTER XIII*

THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE . 227

# CONTENTS


*CHAPTER XIV*

Page

THE GROWTH OF QUEBEC . . . . . 243

*CHAPTER XV*

CONCLUSION . . . . . 261

CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX . . . . 283

INDEX . . . . . 289

# INTRODUCTION

IN undertaking to write a biography of Samuel Champlain, the founder of Quebec and the father of New France, our only design is to make somewhat better known the dominant characteristics of the life and achievements of a man whose memory is becoming more cherished as the years roll on.

Every one will admire Champlain's disinterested actions, his courage, his loyalty, his charity, and all those noble and magnificent qualities which are rarely found united in one individual in so prominent a degree. We cannot overpraise that self-abnegation which enabled him to bear without complaint the ingratitude of many of his interpreters, and the servants of the merchants; nor can we overlook, either, the charity which he exercised towards the aborigines and new settlers; the protection which he afforded them under trying circumstances, or his zeal in promoting the honour and glory of God, and his respect for the Récollet and Jesuit fathers who honoured him with their cordial friendship. His wisdom is evidenced in such a practical fact as his choice of Quebec as the capital of New France, despite the rival claims of Montreal and Three Rivers, and his numerous writings reveal him to us as a keen and sagacious

observer, a man of science and a skilful and intrepid mariner. As a cosmographer, Champlain added yet another laurel to his crown, for he excelled all his predecessors, both by the ample volume of his descriptions and by the logical arrangement of the geographical data which he supplied. The impetus which he gave to cartographical science can scarcely be overestimated.

Naturalist, mariner, geographer, such was Samuel Champlain, and to a degree remarkable for the age in which he lived. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to dwell upon the morality of the virtuous founder. The testimony of the Hurons, who, twenty years after his death, still pointed to the life of Champlain as a model of all Christian virtues, is sufficient, and it is certain that no governor under the old régime presented a more brilliant example of faith, piety, uprightness, or soundness of judgment. A brief outline of the character of Champlain has been given in order that the plan of this biography may be better understood. Let us now glance at his career more in detail.

Before becoming the founder of colonies, Champlain entered the French army, where he devoted himself to the religion of his ancestors. This was the first important step in his long and eventful career. A martial life, however, does not appear to have held out the same inducements as that of a mariner. An opportunity was presented which enabled him to gratify his tastes, when the Spanish government

sent out an armada to encounter the English in the Gulf of Mexico. Champlain was given the command of a ship in this expedition, but his experience during the war served rather as an occasion to develop his genius as a mariner and cosmographer, than to add to his renown as a warrior.

God, who in His providence disposes of the lives of men according to His divine wisdom, directed the steps of Champlain towards the shores of the future New France. If the mother country had not completely forgotten this land of ours, discovered by one of her greatest captains, she had, at least, neglected it. The honour of bringing the king's attention to this vast country, which was French by the right of discovery, was reserved for the modest son of Brouage.

While Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, was wasting his years and expending large sums of money in his fruitless efforts to colonize the island of Ste. Croix and Port Royal, Champlain's voyage to Acadia and his discovery of the New England coast were practically useful, and in consequence Champlain endeavoured to assure de Monts that his own efforts would be more advantageously directed to the shores of the St. Lawrence, for here it was obvious that the development of the country must commence.

Champlain's next step was to found Quebec. With this act began our colonial history, the foundation of a Canadian people with its long line

of heroic characters distinguished by their simplicity and by their adherence to the faith of their fathers. Quebec was founded, but nothing more was accomplished at the moment owing to the lack of means. The trials of Champlain now commenced. Day by day he had to contend against his own countrymen. The attractions of fur trading were too great for the merchants to induce them to settle down and develop the country around them, and they were unwilling to fulfil their promises or to act in accordance with the terms of their patents.

During the next twenty years Champlain crossed the ocean eighteen times. Each voyage was made in the interest of the colony, and he sought by every means in his power, by prayers and petitions, to obtain the control of the commerce of the country so as to make it beneficial to all. In spite of his extraordinary exertions and the force of his will, he foresaw the fatal issue of his labours.

The settlers were few in number, bread and provisions were scarce, and the condition of the infant colony was truly deplorable. At this distressing period a British fleet arrived in the harbour of Quebec. What was to be done? The rude fortress of St. Louis could not withstand the assault of an armed fleet, even if it were well defended. But Champlain had no ammunition, and he, therefore, adopted the only course open to him of capitulating and handing over the keys of the fort to the commander, Kirke. Champlain then left Quebec and

returned to France. Bitter was this journey to him, for it was like passing into exile to see the familiar heights of Quebec fade into the distance, the city of his foundation and the country of his adoption.

We have an idea of his sorrow during the three years that England maintained supremacy in Canada, for he says that the days were as long as months. During his enforced sojourn in France, Champlain exerted all his energies to revive interest in the abandoned colony. His plan was to recover the country by all means. Finally success crowned his efforts, and the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye gave back to France the young settlement. Champlain recrossed the sea and planted the lily banner of France upon the heights of Cape Diamond.

In the year 1635 Champlain was taken ill, and died on Christmas Day, after having devoted forty years of his life to the promotion of the religion and commercial interests of the land of his ancestors, but he bequeathed to the Canadian people the priceless heritage of Quebec, and the memory of a pure and honest heart.

Before Champlain's death, however, Quebec had commenced to develop. On the Beauport coast might be seen the residences of many of the settlers who arrived from the province of Perche in 1634. On the shores of the river Lairet, the Jesuits had built a convent, where the young Indians received instruction; and agriculture had received some attention. Robert Giffard had established a colony at

Beauport which formed the nucleus of a population in this section of the country. Near Fort St. Louis the steeple of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance gave witness that Champlain had fulfilled his promise to build a church at Quebec if the country was restored to her ancient masters.

The colony was now entering upon an era of prosperity, and that harmony and happiness which Champlain had longed for in his life, and which occupied his thoughts even in death, were destined to be realized.

N. E. D.

# CHAPTER I

## CHAMPLAIN'S FIRST VOYAGE TO AMERICA

SAMUEL CHAMPLAIN, the issue of the marriage of Antoine Champlain and Marguerite Le Roy, was born at Brouage, now Hiers Brouage, a small village in the province of Saintonge, France, in the year 1570, or according to the *Biographie Saintongeoise* in 1567. His parents belonged to the Catholic religion, as their first names would seem to indicate.

When quite young Samuel Champlain was entrusted to the care of the parish priest, who imparted to him the elements of education and instilled his mind with religious principles. His youth appears to have glided quietly away, spent for the most part with his family, and in assisting his father, who was a mariner, in his wanderings upon the sea. The knowledge thus obtained was of great service to him, for after a while he became not only conversant with the life of a mariner, but also with the science of geography and of astronomy. When Samuel Champlain was about twenty years of age, he tendered his services to Marshal d'Aumont, one of the chief commanders of the Catholic army in its expedition against the Huguenots.

When the League had done its work and the

army was disbanded in 1598, Champlain returned to Brouage, and sought a favourable opportunity to advance his fortune in a manner more agreeable, if possible, to his tastes, and more compatible with his abilities. In the meantime Champlain did not remain idle, for he resolved to find the means of making a voyage to Spain in order "to acquire and cultivate acquaintance, and make a true report to His Majesty (Henry IV) of the particularities which could not be known to any Frenchmen, for the reason that they have not free access there." He left Blavet at the beginning of the month of August, and ten days after he arrived near Cape Finisterre. Having remained for six days at the Isle of Bayona, in Galicia, he proceeded towards San Lucar de Barameda, which is at the mouth of the river Seville, where he remained for three months. During this time he went to Seville and made surveys of the place. While Champlain was at Seville, a *patache*, or advice boat, arrived from Porto Rico bearing a communication addressed to the king of Spain, informing him that a portion of the English army had put out to sea with the intention of attacking Porto Rico.

The king fitted out twenty ships to oppose the English, one of which, the *Saint Julien*, was commanded by Provençal, Champlain's uncle. Champlain proposed to join the expedition under his uncle, but Provençal was ordered elsewhere, and General Soubriago offered the command of the

*Saint Julien* to Champlain, which he gladly accepted.

The armada set sail in the beginning of January, 1599, and within six days, favoured by a fresh breeze, the vessels sighted the Canary Islands. Two months and six days later the armada drew near to the island called La Désirade, which is the first island approached in this passage to the Indies. The ships anchored for the first time at Nacou, which is one of the finest ports of the Guadeloupe. After having passed Marguerite Island and the Virgins, Champlain proceeded to San Juan de Porto Rico,[1] where he found that both the town and the castle or fortress had been abandoned, and that the merchants had either made their escape or had been taken prisoners. The English army had left the town and had taken the Spanish governor with them, as he had surrendered on the condition that his life should be spared.

On leaving Porto Rico the general divided the galleons into three squadrons, and retained four vessels under his own command. Three were sent to Porto Bello, and three, including Champlain's vessel, to New Spain. Champlain arrived at Saint Jean de

[1] This island is only forty leagues in length and twenty in breadth, and belonged to the Spanish from the date of its discovery by Ponce de Léon in 1509, to 1598. When Champlain visited the island it had been taken by George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. During the same year Sir John Berkeley commanded, but being unable to remain there, he deserted the place, and joined Clifford near the Azores, when both went to England, having lost about seven hundred men during their expedition.

Luz eight days afterwards, although the place is fully four hundred leagues from Porto Rico. This fortress bore the name of San Juan d'Ulloa. Fifteen days afterwards we find Champlain setting sail for Mexico, situated at a distance of over one hundred leagues from San Juan.

Champlain was evidently very much interested in this country, and his description is that of an enthusiast: "It is impossible to see or desire a more beautiful country than this kingdom of New Spain, which is three hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth. . . . The whole of this country is ornamented with very fine rivers and streams . . . the land is very fertile, producing corn twice in the year . . . the trees are never devoid of fruit and are always green." The voyage to Mexico occupied a month, and Champlain gave an animated description of the city of Mexico, of its superb palaces, temples, houses and buildings, and well laid streets, as well as of the surrounding country.

After leaving Mexico, Champlain returned to San Juan de Luz, and from there sailed in a *patache* to Porto Bello, "the most pitiful and evil residence in the world." The harbour, however, was good, and well fortified. From Porto Bello to Panama, which is on the sea, the distance is only seventeen leagues, and it is interesting to read Champlain's description :—

"One may judge that if the four leagues of land which there are from Panama to this river were cut

through, one might pass from the South Sea to the ocean on the other side, and thus shorten the route by more than fifteen hundred leagues; and from Panama to the Straits of Magellan would be an island, and from Panama to the New-found-lands would be another island, so that the whole of America would be in two islands."

It is thus seen that the idea of connecting the Atlantic ocean with the Pacific by cutting through the Isthmus of Panama is not a modern one, as it was promulgated by Champlain over three hundred years ago.

At this time Spain was in great need of a good transportation service at the isthmus. The treasures of Peru were sent to Europe by the Panama route to Porto Bello, from where the ships sailed to the old continent. The route between the Pacific coast and the Gulf of Mexico was exceedingly bad. Sometimes the merchants forwarded European goods to Panama, having them transported to Chagres. Here they were landed in boats and conveyed to Cruces. From Cruces to Panama mules were employed for the remainder of the journey. It was, however, the route taken by travellers visiting Peru, Chili, New Granada, Venezuela, and other Spanish possessions on the Pacific coast. The most regular connection between the two oceans was from Fort Acapulco to Vera Cruz, through Mexico. If Spain had adopted a better line of communication with her western territories in the New World

she might have derived vast treasure from that source. In the year 1551 Lopez de Gomara, the author of a "History of Indies," a work written with care and displaying considerable erudition, proposed to unite the two oceans by means of canals at three different points, Chagres, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec. Gomara's proposals were not acted upon, and the honour of carrying out the project was reserved for France. Ferdinand de Lesseps, who succeeded in connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, was the man who, after the lapse of centuries, seriously interested his fellow-countrymen in boring the Isthmus of Panama.

Champlain returned to San Juan de Luz, where he remained for fifteen days, and he then proceeded to Havana, the rendezvous of the army and of the fleet. Eighteen days later he embarked in a vessel bound for Cartagena, where there was a good port, sheltered from all winds. Upon his return to Havana Champlain met his general and spent four months in collecting valuable information relating to the interesting island of Cuba. From Havana he proceeded past the Bahama channel, approached Bermuda Island, Terceira, one of the Azores, and sighted Cape St. Vincent, where he captured two armed English vessels, which were taken to Seville.

Champlain returned to France in March, 1601, having been absent on his first voyage for a period of two years and two months, during which time he collected much valuable information. He also pub-

lished a small volume containing plans, maps and engravings, fairly well executed for the time, and now exceedingly scarce. The manuscript of this volume is still preserved; it covers one hundred and fifteen pages with sixty-two drawings, coloured and surrounded with blue and yellow lines. It appears to have been written between the years 1601 and 1603.[1]

The first voyage of Champlain across the Atlantic, though important from a military standpoint, did not suffice to satisfy the ambition of a man whose thoughts were bent upon discovery and colonization. Champlain was a navigator by instinct, and in his writings he gave to nautical science the first place.

"Of all the most useful and excellent arts," he writes, "that of navigation has always seemed to me to occupy the first place. For the more hazardous it is, the greater the perils and losses by which it is attended, so much the more is it esteemed and exalted above all others, being wholly unsuited to the timid and irresolute. By this art we obtain a

[1] This volume is entitled *Brief Discours des choses plus remarquables que Samuel Champlain de Brouage A reconneues aux Indes Occidentalles Au voiage qu'il en a faict en icelles en l'année* VeIIIJ. XXIX, *et en l'année* VIeJ, *comme ensuit.*

This manuscript was discovered by M. Féret, antiquarian, poet and librarian, of Dieppe. The Hakluyt Society had it translated in 1859, and published at London. In 1870 the Reverend Laverdière, librarian of the Laval University, of Quebec, had it printed in French, with the designs, coloured for the most part, with the complete works of Champlain. This manuscript is supposed to have been preserved by a collateral descendant of Aymar de Chastes.

knowledge of different countries, regions and realms. By it we attract and bring to our own land all kinds of riches; by it the idolatry of Paganism is overthrown and Christianity proclaimed throughout all the regions of the earth. This is the art which won my love in my early years and induced me to expose myself almost all my life to the impetuous waves of the ocean, and led me to explore the coasts of a portion of America, especially those of New France, where I have always desired to see the lily flourish, together with the only religion, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman."

After his return to France in the year 1601, Champlain received a pension, together with the appointment of geographer to the king. Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de Tontuit, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to establish a settlement at Tadousac, died at this time, while Champlain was residing in Paris. Here he had the good fortune to meet Aymar de Chastes, governor of the town and château of Dieppe, under whose orders he had served during the latter years of the war with the League.

De Chastes, who had resolved to undertake the colonization of Canada, obtained a commission from the king, and formed a company, composed of several gentlemen and the principal merchants of Rouen. François Gravé, Sieur du Pont, who had already accompanied Chauvin to Tadousac, was chosen to return there and to examine the Sault St. Louis and the country beyond.

"Going from time to time to see the Sieur de Chastes," writes Champlain, "judging that I might serve him in his design, he did me the honour to communicate something of it to me, and asked me if it would be agreeable to me to make the voyage, to examine the country, and to see what those engaged in the undertaking should do. I told him that I was very much his servant, but that I could not give myself license to undertake the voyage without the commands of the king, to whom I was bound, as well by birth as by the pension with which His Majesty honoured me to enable me to maintain myself near his person, but that, if it should please him to speak to the king about it, and give me his commands, that it should be very agreeable to me, which he promised and did, and received the king's orders for me to make the voyage and make a faithful report thereof; and for that purpose M. de Gesvres, secretary of his commandments, sent me with a letter to the said Du Pont-Gravé, desiring him to take me in his ship and enable me to see and examine what could be done in the country, giving me every possible assistance."

"*Me voilà expédié,*" says Champlain, "I leave Paris and take passage on Pont-Gravé's ship in the year 1603, the 15th of the month of March." The voyage was favourable for the first fifteen days, but on the 30th a heavy storm arose, "more thunder than wind," which lasted until April 16th. On

May 6th the vessel approached Newfoundland, and arrived at Tadousac[1] on the 24th. Here they met with about one hundred Indians, under the command of Anadabijou, who were rejoicing on account of their recent victory over the Iroquois. The chief made a long harangue, speaking slowly. He congratulated himself upon his friendship with the French nation, and stated that he was happy to learn that the king was anxious to send some of his subjects to reside in the country and to assist them in their wars. Champlain was also informed that the Etchemins, the Algonquins, and the Montagnais, to the number of about one thousand, had lately been engaged in warfare with the Iroquois, whom they had vanquished with the loss of one hundred men.

On June 9th following, Champlain witnessed the spectacle of a grand feast given by the Indians in commemoration of their victory. The celebration consisted of dances, songs, speeches and games. Tessouat, the *sagamo* of the Ottawas, was the chief captain, and took a prominent part in the demonstration.

After a long description of these public festivities, Champlain gives ample details of the manners and customs of the Indians, especially of their superstitions. The Indians believed that a God existed who was the creator of all things, but they had a

[1] Tadousac means *breast*, and is derived from the Montagnais *Totouchac*. Father Jérôme Lalemant says that the Indians called the place *Sadilege*.

curious manner of explaining the creation of man. "When God had made everything," they said, "He took a quantity of arrows and fixed them in the earth, whence came men and women, who have increased ever since." The *sagamo* said they believed in the existence of a God, a son, a mother and a sun; that God was the greatest of the four; that the son and the sun were both good; that the mother was a lesser person, and so was the father, who was less bad.

The Indians were convinced that their deity had held communication with their ancestors. One day five Indians ran towards the setting sun where they met God, who asked them, "Where are you going?" "We are going to seek our life," they replied. Then God said, "You will find it here." But they did not hear the divine word, and went away. Then God took a stone and touched two of them, and they were immediately turned into stones. Addressing the three other Indians, God asked the same question, "Where are you going?" and He was given the same answer. "Do not go further," said the divine voice, "you will find your life here." Seeing nothing, however, they continued their journey. Then God took two sticks and touched two of them, and they were at once turned into sticks. The fifth Indian, however, paused, and God gave him some meat, which he ate, and he afterwards returned to his countrymen.

These Indian tribes had their jugglers, whom

they called *pilotois*, from the Basques, or *autmoins*, which means a magician. These jugglers exercised great sway over the Indians, who would not hesitate to kill a Frenchman if the jugglers decided that it was necessary.

In spite of their superstitions Champlain believed that it would be an easy task to convert the Indians to Christianity, especially if the French resided near them. This desirable end was not to be attained without great difficulty, as Champlain soon realized, for the missionaries toiled for many years before their efforts were crowned with success.

Champlain now proceeded to explore the river Saguenay for a distance of twelve to fifteen leagues, and he thus describes the scenery:—

"All the land I have seen is composed of rocks, covered with fir woods, cypress, birch, very unpleasing land, where I could not find a league of plain land on each side." He also learned from the Indians of the existence of Lake St. John, and of a salt sea flowing towards the north. It was evidently Hudson Bay to which these northern tribes directed Champlain's attention, and if they had not seen it themselves they had probably heard of its existence from the Indians dwelling around the southern or south-western shores of the bay, who came annually to Nemiscau Lake to trade their furs. This lake was half way between Hudson Bay and the river St. Lawrence. The Kilistinons and other Indians of the north had regular communica-

tion with their *congénères* scattered along the shores of the St. Maurice and the several rivers which flow into Lake St. John.

When the French arrived in Canada with Chauvin, in the year 1600, they began to monopolize the fur trade of all the Indian nations, but some years later the English established themselves on the shores of Hudson Bay, and prosecuted the trade for their own benefit.

Champlain could not, evidently, have been in possession of any exact information as to the existence of this large bay, as he was searching for a northern passage to Cathay, the great *desideratum* of all the navigators and explorers of the time.

After having promised to aid the various tribes gathered at Tadousac in their wars, Champlain and Pont-Gravé proceeded to Sault St. Louis. This expedition lasted fifteen days, during which they saw Hare Island, so named by Jacques Cartier, and the Island of Orleans. The ship anchored at Quebec where Champlain stopped to make a short description of the country watered by the St. Lawrence, and they then proceeded to Sault St. Louis. Here Champlain gathered much valuable information relating to lakes Ontario and Erie, the Detroit River, Niagara Falls, and the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Returning to Tadousac, he determined to explore Gaspesia, and proceeded to visit Percé and Mal Bay, where he met Indians at every turn. He also was informed by Prévert, from St. Malo, who was

exploring the country, of the existence of a copper mine.

Champlain carefully noted all the information he had received, and after his return to Tadousac he sailed again for France on August 16th, 1603, and reached Havre de Grâce, after a passage of twenty-one days. On his arrival in France, he heard that Aymar de Chastes had died a few weeks previously, on August 13th. This was a great loss to Canada, and especially to Champlain, for he was convinced that the noble and enterprising de Chastes was seriously disposed to colonize New France. "In this enterprise," he says, "I cannot find a single fault, because it has been well inaugurated." With the death of de Chastes, the project of colonizing would undoubtedly have fallen through had not Champlain been present to promote another movement in this direction. Champlain had an interview with the king, and presented him with a map of the country which he had visited, and placed in his hands a relation of his voyage.[1] Henry IV was so favourably im-

[1] This volume is entitled *Des Sauvages ou Voyage de Samuel Champlain de Brouage, fait en la Nouvelle France, l'an mil six cent trois . . . . A Paris . . . 1604.*

Extremely rare. The original of the first edition is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; this is the only copy known.

This volume contains a dedication to Charles de Montmorency, admiral of France, a letter in verse from the Sieur de la Franchise, and an extract from the *Privilège du Roi*, dated November 15th, 1603, signed by Brigard.

The second edition does not differ much from the preceding, and its

pressed that he promised to assist Champlain in his patriotic designs.

title bears the date 1604. Purchas's *Pilgrims* contains an English version of this last edition We find a synopsis of it in the *Mercure François,* 1609, in the preface to the former called *Chronologie Septennaire de l'Histoire de la paix entre les rois de France et d'Espagne, 1598-1608.* This historical part has been borrowed by Victor Palma Cayet for Champlain's Voyage, and its title is : *Navigation des Français en la Nouvelle France dite Canada.*

## CHAPTER II

### ACADIA—STE. CROIX ISLAND—PORT ROYAL

SOON after the period mentioned at the close of the previous chapter, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, Governor of Pont, a native of the ancient province of Saintonge, who had served under Henry IV, obtained a commission as "Lieutenant genéral au pays de Cadie, du 40° au 46°," on the condition that his energies should be especially directed to the propagation of the Catholic faith.

De Monts was a Huguenot; nevertheless he agreed to take with him to America a number of Catholic priests, and to see that they were respected and obeyed. Champlain was not satisfied with the choice of a Protestant to colonize a country which he had intended to make solely Catholic, and he states, "that those enterprises made hastily never succeed."

De Monts was not a stranger to America. He had first visited the country with Chauvin in 1600, but when he left Tadousac he was so discouraged that he determined, in the event of his becoming master of the situation, to attempt colonization only in Acadia, or on the eastern borders of the Atlantic running towards Florida.

It was well known in France that Acadia was

the richest and most fertile part of the New World. Excellent harbours and good soil were found there. Fish abounded near its coasts; its forests were numerous and dense. An opinion existed that there were numerous mines, rich in copper, coal and gypsum. This country was also the favourite of the Normans, Britons and Basques, who for a hundred years had pursued their callings as fishermen or traders without interruption.

De Monts, however, was unable to bear the expense of this undertaking alone, and he consequently formed a company, composed of merchants of Rouen, La Rochelle and other towns. To further the enterprise Henry IV diminished the duty on merchandises exported from Acadia and Canada, and granted to the company the exclusive privilege of fur trading for a period of ten years, "from Cape de Raze to the 40°, comprising all the Acadian coast, Cape Breton, Baie des Chaleurs, Percé Island, Gaspé, Chisedec, Miramichi, Tadousac and Canada River, from either side, and all the bays and rivers which flow within these shores."

Acadia of that day was not confined to the peninsula of our own time, called Nova Scotia. It included that part of the continent which extends from the river St. John to the Penobscot. These boundaries were the cause of long quarrels and fierce and bloody wars between England and France until they were finally settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. In the early part of April, 1604, the king's proc-

lamation confining the fur trade to de Monts and his associates was published in every harbour of France. Four ships were lying at anchor at Havre de Grâce, ready to sail, and one hundred and twenty passages had been secured in two of the ships. Pont-Gravé commanded one of the vessels of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, and another vessel of one hundred and fifty tons was under the charge of de Monts, who had taken on board Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, a gentleman of Picardy, Samuel Champlain, some Catholic priests and some Protestant ministers. Poutrincourt was going to America with the intention of residing there with his family. He was a good Catholic and a loyal subject. Champlain was attached to de Monts' expedition as geographer and historian.

The rendezvous had been fixed at Canseau, but de Monts proceeded directly to Port au Mouton on the Acadian coast, where he decided to await the arrival of Pont-Gravé. In the meantime Champlain explored the country from Port au Mouton to Port Sainte Marguerite, now called St. Mary's Bay. This occupied a whole month. He also named Cape Négré, Cape Fourchu and Long Island. Champlain reported to de Monts that St. Mary's Bay was a suitable place to establish a settlement, and, following this advice, the lieutenant-general proceeded with Champlain to this bay, and further explored the Bay of Fundy, or French Bay. They soon perceived the entrance to another splendid port,

which is now known as Annapolis Bay, or Port Royal.

Notwithstanding the authority of Lescarbot, Champlain was the first to give this place the name of Port Royal, for he says himself, "I have named this harbour Port Royal." When de Monts named the place La Baie Française, Champlain did not hesitate to give to his chief the merit which he deserved.

Three rivers flow into this splendid harbour: the Rivière de l'Equille, so called from a little fish of the size of our *éperlan* or *lançon*, which is found there in large quantities; the river named St. Antoine by Champlain, and a stream called de la Roche by Champlain, and de l'Orignac by Lescarbot.

After having explored the harbour, Champlain traversed La Baie Française to see whether he could discover the copper mine mentioned by Prévert of St. Malo, and he soon arrived at a place which he named the Cape of Two Bays, or Chignecto, and perceived the High Islands, where a copper mine was found.

On May 20th an expedition started from the Port of Mines, in search of a place suitable for a permanent settlement. Proceeding towards the south-west they stopped at the entrance of a large river, which was named St. John, as it was on St. John's day that they arrived there. The savages called the river Ouigoudi. "This river is danger-

ous," writes Champlain, "if one does not observe carefully certain points and rocks on the two sides. It is so narrow at its entrance and then becomes broader. A certain point being passed it becomes narrower again, and forms a kind of fall between two large cliffs, where the water runs so rapidly that a piece of wood thrown in is drawn under and not seen again. But by waiting till high tide you can pass this fall very easily. Then it expands again to the extent of about a league in some places where there are three islands."

Champlain did not explore the river further, but he ascertained a few days later that the Indians used the river in their journeys to Tadousac, making but a short portage on the way.

As preparations had shortly to be made for winter quarters, de Monts decided to proceed southwards, and the party at length came to a number of islands at the entrance of the river Ste. Croix, or Des Etchemins. One of these islands was chosen for their establishment, and named Ste. Croix, "because," says Lescarbot, "they perceived two leagues above this island two streams flowing into the channel of the river, presenting the appearance of a cross." De Monts at once commenced to fortify the place by forming a barricade on a little inlet, which served as a station on which he set up a cannon; it was situated halfway between the mainland and the island of Ste. Croix. Some days afterwards all the French who were waiting in St. Mary's Bay disem-

barked on the island. They were all eager and willing to work, and commenced to render the place habitable. They erected a storehouse and a residence for de Monts, and built an oven and a hand-mill for grinding wheat. Some gardens were also laid out, and various kinds of seeds were sown, which flourished well on the mainland, though not on the island, which was too sandy.

De Monts was anxious to ascertain the location of a mine of pure copper which had been spoken of, and accordingly he despatched Champlain, with a savage named Messamouet, who asserted that he could find the place. At about eight leagues from the island, near the river St. John, they found a mine of copper, which, however, was not pure, though fairly good. According to the report of the miner, it would yield about eighteen per cent. Lescarbot says that amidst the rocks, diamonds and some blue and clear stones could be found as precious as turquoises. Champdoré, one of the carpenters, took one of these stones to France, and had it divided into many fragments and mounted by an artist. De Monts and Poutrincourt, to whom they were presented, considered these gems so valuable that they offered them to the king. A goldsmith offered Poutrincourt fifteen crown pieces for one of them.

Agriculture did not flourish on the island of Ste. Croix, which is about half a league in circumference. The rays of the sun parched the sand so that

the gardens were entirely unproductive, and there was a complete dearth of water. At the commencement there was a fair quantity of wood, but when the buildings were finished there was scarcely any left; the inhabitants, consequently, nearly perished from cold in the winter. All the liquor, wine and beer became frozen, and as there was no water the people were compelled to drink melted snow. A malignant epidemic of scurvy broke out, and of seventy-nine persons thirty-five died from the disease and more than twenty were at the point of death.

This disease proved one of the obstacles to rapid colonization in New France. It was epidemic, contagious and often fatal. It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the epidemic was prevalent amongst the French only when they were established on the soil, being rarely discovered on ship-board. Jacques Cartier had experienced the horrors of this disease in the winter of 1535-6, when out of his one hundred and ten men twenty-five died, and only three or four remained altogether free from attack. During the year 1542-3, Roberval saw fifty persons dying of the disease at Charlesbourg Royal. At Ste. Croix the proportion of deaths was still greater, thirty-five out of seventy-nine. There was a physician attached to de Monts' party, but he did not understand the disease, and therefore could not satisfactorily prescribe for it. De Monts also consulted many physicians in Paris, but he did not receive answers that were of much service to him.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century scientific men distinguished scurvy on land from scurvy on sea. They laboured under the false impression that the one differed from the other. Champlain called the disease *mal de terre*. It is certain, however, that the symptoms did not vary in either case, as we may ascertain from the descriptions furnished by Jacques Cartier and Champlain.

The position of the settlement was soon proved to be untenable, and de Monts was certainly to blame for this unhappy state of affairs. Why did he abandon Port Royal, where he had found abundant water? Champlain, however, defends the action of his chief.

"It would be very difficult," he says, "to ascertain the character of this region without spending a winter in it, for, on arriving here in summer, everything is very agreeable in consequence of the woods, fine country, and the many varieties of good fish which are found." We must not forget, however, that the climate of this island differed very little from that of Tadousac, which had greatly disappointed de Monts, and that his sole object in settling in a more southern latitude was to avoid the disagreeable consequences of the climate.

Champlain made a plan of the island of Ste. Croix, indicating the buildings constructed for the habitation of the settlers. We observe many isolated

tenements forming a large square. On one side was the residence of Champlain, of Champdoré and d'Orville, with a large garden opposite. Near d'Orville's residence was a small building set apart for the missionaries. On the other side may be seen the storehouse, de Monts' dwelling, a public hall where the people spent their leisure, and a building for Boulay and the workmen. In an angle of the large square were the residences of Genestou, Sourin, de Beaumont, La Motte, Bourioli and Fougeray. A small fort is shown at one end of the island, approached by a pathway. The chapel of the priest Aubry was located near the cannon of the fort. Such was the plan of the first Acadian settlement. Much expense had been incurred for a very poor result.

De Monts was the directing spirit of the colony, and in spite of his noble attempts, he realized that his efforts were fruitless and that he would have to try another place for a permanent settlement. By the direction of his chief, Champlain accordingly undertook to explore the seacoast of Norembega.

De Monts has found a defender in Moreau, who held that Ste. Croix was only intended for winter quarters. If this had been his intention, we can scarcely believe that he would have incurred so great an expense in building a number of houses. Lescarbot, whose testimony is most valuable, says: "When we go into a country to take possession of land we

don't stop on islands to imprison ourselves. If that island had been supplied with rivers or streams, if the soil had been favourable to agriculture, it would have been half wrong." But this island lacked the very first element essential to life, fresh water.

Towards the middle of May, 1605, every one's attention was directed towards France, as the ships which had been expected for over a month had not yet arrived. De Monts then determined to send his party to Gaspé in two large boats to join Pont-Gravé. At this juncture, however, Pont-Gravé arrived at Ste. Croix with his crew, comprising forty men.

De Monts and Pont-Gravé held a consultation and decided to seek a more suitable place for a settlement, rather than to return to France. De Monts was still under the impression that the best plan was to attempt to settle in the vicinity of Florida, although the result of Champlain's exploration along the coast of the Norembega[1] was considered unsatisfactory.

Let us now examine what Champlain had accomplished during the month of September, 1604.

He left Ste. Croix on September 5th, in a *patache*, with twelve sailors and two savages as

[1]Norembega was the name applied at that time to a vast tract of country whose limits were nearly unknown. There was a river and a cape called Norembega. The river is now the Penobscot, and the cape is the southern extremity of the Acadian peninsula.

guides. On the first day he covered twenty-five leagues and discovered many islands, reefs and rocks. To another island, four or five leagues in length, he gave the name of Ile des Monts Déserts[1], which name has been preserved. On the following day Champlain met some hunting Indians of the Etchemin tribe, proceeding from the Pentagouet River to the Mount Desert Islands. "I think this river," says Champlain, "is that which several pilots and historians call Norembègue, and which most have described as large and extensive, with very many islands, its mouth being in latitude 43°, 43′, 30″. . . It is related also that there is a large, thickly-settled town of savages, who are adroit and skilful, and who have cotton yards. I am confident that most of those who mention it have not seen it, and speak of it because they have heard persons say so, who know no more about it than they themselves. . . But that any one has ever entered it there is no evidence, for then they would have described it in another manner, in order to relieve the minds of many of this doubt."

Champlain's description is written from personal

[1] The Indians called this island *Pemetig*, which means *the island which is ahead*. The French settled here in 1613, and founded St. Sauveur on the north-eastern coast, in a splendid harbour which is to-day known as Bar Harbour. The remains of many of the French who were killed during the contest with the English, were interred at Point Fernald. At the point nearest the mainland there is a bridge of seven hundred feet in length, which communicates with the town of Trenton.

knowledge, because he had seen the Pentagouet River.[1] The country which it passes through is agreeable, but there was no town or village, and no appearance of either, with the exception of a few deserted cabins of the Souriquois or Micmacs.

Here Champlain met two Souriquois chiefs, Bessabé and Cabahis, and succeeded in making them understand that he had been sent by de Monts to visit their country, and to assure them of the friendship of the French for the Souriquois. Champlain continued his journey southwards, and two days later he again met Cabahis, of whom he asked particulars as to the course of the river Norembègue. The chief replied "that they had already passed the fall, which is situated at about twenty leagues from the mouth of the river Penobscot. Here it widens into a lake, by way of which the Indians pass to the river Ste. Croix, by going some distance overland and then entering the river Etchemin. Another river also enters the lake, along which they proceed for some days until they gain another lake and pass through it. Reaching the end of it they again make a land journey of some distance until they reach another small river, the mouth of which is within a league of Quebec." This little river is the Chaudière, which the Indians follow to reach Quebec. On

[1] Champlain called the river *Peimtegoüet*. This word means *the place of a river where rapids exist*. The English have given their preference to the word *Penobscot*, which comes from the Indian *Penaouasket, the place where the earth is covered with stones*.

September 20th Champlain observed the mountains of Bedabedec, and after having proceeded for ten or twelve leagues further he decided to return to Ste. Croix and wait until the following year to continue his explorations. His opinion was that the region he had explored was quite as unfavourable for a settlement as Ste. Croix.

On June 18th, 1605, de Monts, at the head of an expedition consisting of Champlain, some gentlemen, twelve sailors and an Indian guide named Panonias and his wife, set out from the island of Ste. Croix to explore the country of the Armouchiquois, and reached the Pentagouet River in twelve days. On July 20th they made about twenty leagues between Bedabedec Point and the Kennebec River, at the mouth of which is an island which they named *La Tortue.*

Continuing their journey towards the south they observed some large mountains, the abode of an Indian chief named Aneda. "I was satisfied from the name," says Champlain, "that he was one of his tribe that had discovered the plant called *aneda*, which Jacques Cartier said was so powerful against the malady called scurvy, which harassed his company as well as our own when they wintered in Canada. The savages have no knowledge at all of this plant, and are not aware of its existence, although the above mentioned savage has the same name." This supposition was unfounded, because if this Indian had been of the same origin as the abo-

rigines who acquainted Jacques Cartier with the virtue of the *aneda* plant in cases of scurvy, he would have understood the meaning of the word. *Aneda* is the Iroquois word for the spruce tree, but there is no evidence to prove that Champlain was ever aware that it was a specific. Had he known of its efficacy he would have certainly employed it.

At Chouacouet de Monts and Champlain received visits from many Indians, differing entirely from either the Etchemins or the Armouchiquois. They found the soil tilled and cultivated, and the corn in the gardens was about two feet in height. Beans, pumpkins and squash were also in flower. The place was very pleasant and agreeable at the time, but Champlain believed the weather was very severe in the winter.

The party proceeded still further south, in sight of the Cap aux Iles (Cape Porpoise), and on July 17th, 1605, they came to anchor at Cape St. Louis,[1] where an Indian chief named Honabetha paid them a visit. To a small river which they found in the vicinity they gave the name of Gua, in honour of de Monts. The expedition passed the night of the 18th in a small bay called Cape St. Louis. On the 19th they observed the cape of a large bay, which they distinguished by the title of Ste. Suzanne du Cap Blanc, and on July 20th they entered a spacious har-

[1] The Pilgrim Fathers, the founders of New England, landed at this place, which they named Plymouth, to preserve the name of the English city from which they had sailed.

bour, which proved to be very dangerous on account of shoals and banks ; they therefore named it Mallebarre.

Five weeks had now elapsed since the expedition had left Ste. Croix, and no incident of importance had occurred. They had met many tribes of Indians, and on each occasion their intercourse was harmonious. It is true that they had not traversed more than three degrees of latitude, but, although their progress was slow, their time was well spent. De Monts was satisfied that it would be easier to colonize Acadia than this American coast, and Champlain was still convinced that Port Royal was the most favourable spot, unless de Monts preferred Quebec.

The expedition returned to Ste. Croix in nine days, arriving there on August 3rd. Here they found a vessel from France, under the command of Captain des Antons, laden with provisions, and many things suitable for winter use. There was now a chance of saving the settlers, although their position was not enviable.

De Monts was determined to try the climate of Port Royal, and to endeavour to establish a settlement there. Two barques were fitted out and laden with the frame work of the buildings at Ste. Croix. Champlain and Pont-Gravé had set out before to select a favourable site around the bay, well sheltered from the north-west wind. They chose a place opposite an island at the mouth of the river de

l'Equille, as being the most suitable. Every one was soon busily engaged in clearing the ground and in erecting houses. The plan of the settlement, says Champlain, was ten fathoms long and eight fathoms wide, making the distance around thirty-six fathoms. On the eastern side was a storehouse occupying the width of it, with a very fine cellar, from five to six feet deep. On the northern side were the quarters of Sieur de Monts, comfortably finished. In the backyard were the dwellings of the workmen. At the corner of the western side was a platform, upon which four cannon were placed, and at the eastern corner a palisade was constructed in the shape of a platform. There was nothing pretentious or elegant about these buildings, but they were solid and useful.

The installation of the new settlement being now complete, de Monts returned to France, leaving Pont-Gravé in command. During the absence of de Monts, Champlain determined to pursue his discoveries along the American coast, and in this design he was favoured by de Monts, as the latter had not altogether abandoned his idea of settling in Florida. The season, however, was too far advanced, and Champlain therefore stopped at the river St. John to meet Schoudon, with whom he agreed to set out in search of the famous copper mine. They were accompanied by a miner named Jacques, and a Slavonian very skilful in discovering minerals. He found some pieces of copper and what appeared to

be a mine, but it was too difficult to work. Champlain accordingly returned to Port Royal, where several of the men were suffering from scurvy. Out of forty-five, twelve died during the winter. The surgeon from Honfleur, named Deschamps, performed an autopsy on some of the bodies, and found them affected in the same manner as those who had died at Ste. Croix. Snow did not fall until December 20th, and the winter was not so severe as the previous one.

On March 16th, 1606, Champlain resumed his explorations, and travelled eighteen leagues on that day. He anchored at an island to the south of Manan. During the night his barque ran ashore and sustained injuries which it required four days to repair. Champlain then proceeded to Port aux Coquilles, seven or eight leagues distant, where he remained until the twenty-ninth. Pont-Gravé, however, desired him to return to Port Royal, being anxious to obtain news of his companions whom he had left sick. Owing to indisposition, Champlain was obliged to delay his departure until April 8th.

Champlain and Pont-Gravé intended to return to France during the summer of 1606. Seeing that the vessels promised by de Monts had not arrived, they set out from Port Royal to Cape Breton or Gaspé, in search of a vessel to cross the Atlantic, but when they were approaching Canseau, they met Ralleau, the secretary of de Monts, who informed them that a vessel had been despatched

under the command of Poutrincourt, with fifty settlers for the country. They, therefore, returned to Port Royal, where they found Poutrincourt, who as lieutenant-general of de Monts intended to remain at Port Royal during the year.

On September 5th, Champlain left Port Royal on a voyage of discovery. Poutrincourt joined the expedition, and they took with them a physician, the carpenter Champdoré, and Robert Gravé, the son of François. This last voyage, undertaken to please de Monts, did not result in anything remarkable. They first paid a visit to Ste. Croix, where everything remained unchanged, although the gardens were flourishing. From Ste. Croix the expedition drifted southwards, and Champlain pointed out the same bays, harbours, capes and mountains that he had observed before. Schoudon, chief of the Etchemins, and Messamouet, captain of the Micmacs, joined the party, and proceeded with them as far as Chouacouet, where they intended to form an alliance with Olmechin and Marchim, two Indian chiefs of this country.

On October 2nd, 1606, the expedition reached Mallebarre, and for a few days they anchored in a bay near Cape Batturier, which they named Port Fortuné (Chatham). Five or six hundred savages were found at this place. "It would be an excellent place," says Champlain, "to erect buildings, and lay the foundation of a state, if the harbour was somewhat deeper and the entrance safer." Poutrin-

court stopped here for some days, and in the meantime visited all the surrounding country, from which he returned much pleased.

According to a custom peculiar to the French since the days of Jacques Cartier, de Monts had planted a large cross at the entrance of the Kennebec River, and also at Mallebarre. Poutrincourt did the same at Port Fortuné. The Indians seemed annoyed at this ceremony, which they evidently considered as an encroachment upon their rights as proprietors. They exhibited symptoms of discontent, and during the night they killed four Frenchmen who had imprudently stayed ashore. They were buried near the cross. This the Indians immediately threw down, but Poutrincourt ordered it to be restored to its former position.

On three different occasions the party attempted to pursue their discoveries southwards, but they were prevented each time by a contrary wind. They therefore resolved to return to Port Royal, which was rendered imperative both by the approach of winter and the scarcity of provisions. The result of the voyage was not altogether satisfactory. Champlain had perhaps held a degree further south than on the former occasion, but he had not discovered anything of importance.

On their return to Port Royal, the voyagers were received with great ceremony. Lescarbot, a Parisian lawyer, who had arrived some time before, and some other Frenchmen, went to meet them and

conducted them to the fort, which had been decorated with evergreens and inscriptions. On the principal door they had placed the arms of France, surrounded with laurel crowns, and the king's motto: *Dno protegit unus.* Beneath the arms of de Monts was placed this inscription: *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.* The arms of Poutrincourt were wreathed with crowns of leaves, with his motto: *In via virtuti nulla est via.* Lescarbot had composed a short drama for the occasion, entitled, *Le Théâtre de Neptune.*

The winter of 1606-07 was not very severe. The settlers lived happily in spite of the scurvy, from which some of them died. Hunting afforded them the means of providing a great variety of dishes, such as geese, ducks, bears, beavers, partridges, reindeer, bustards, etc. They also organized a society devoted to good cheer called, *Ordre du Bon Temps,* the by-laws of which were definite, and were fixed by Champlain himself. The Indians of the vicinity who were friendly towards the French colony were in need of food, so that each day loaves of bread were distributed amongst them. Their *sagamo,* named Membertou, was admitted as a guest to the table of Poutrincourt. This famous Souriquois, who was very old at that time—probably a hundred years, though he had not a single white hair—pretended to have known Jacques Cartier at the time of his first voyage, and claimed that in 1534 he was married, and the father of a young family.

Lescarbot, who was an able man and a good historian, records the particulars above related, besides many other interesting facts concerning Port Royal which appear to have escaped Champlain's observation. Lescarbot was an active spirit in the life of the first French colony in Acadia. He encouraged his companions to cultivate their land, and he worked himself in the gardens, sowing wheat, oats, beans, pease, and herbs, which he tended with care. He was also liked by the Indians, and he would have rejoiced to see them converted to Christianity. Lescarbot was a poet and a preacher, and had also a good knowledge of the arts and of medicine. Charlevoix says: "He daily invented something new for the public good. And there was never a stronger proof of what a new settlement might derive from a mind cultivated by study, and induced by patriotism to use its knowledge and reflections. We are indebted to this advocate for the best memoirs of what passed before his eyes, and for a history of French Florida. We then behold an exact and judicious writer, a man with views of his own, and who would have been as capable of founding a colony as of writing its history."

With the departure of Lescarbot and Champlain the best page of the history of Port Royal is closed. The two men left on September 2nd, 1607, on board the *Jonas*, commanded by Nicholas Martin. They stopped at Roscoff in Basse-Bretagne, and

the vessel arrived at Havre de Grâce in the early days of October.

Poutrincourt, his son Biencourt, and Lescarbot made a pilgrimage to Mont St. Michel, and Champlain went to Brouage, his native country, having sojourned in America for three years and five months.

## CHAPTER III

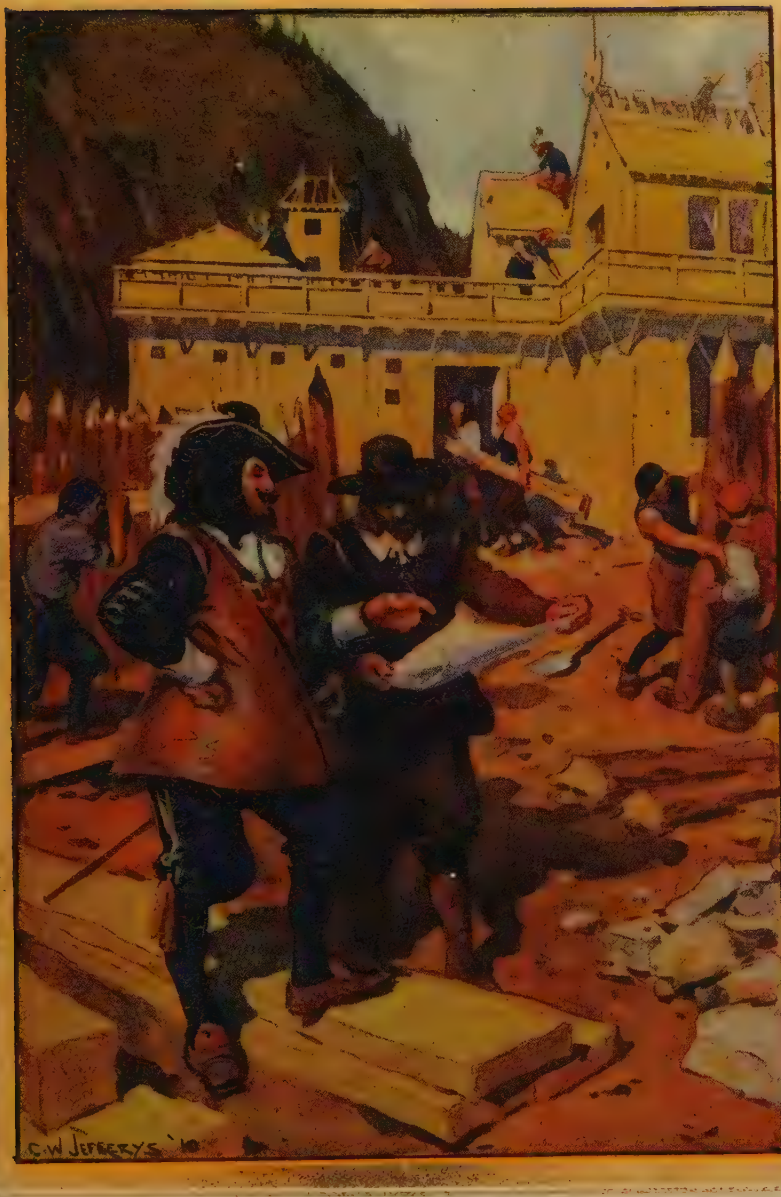
### THE FOUNDING OF QUEBEC

AFTER his return to France, as before described, Champlain had an interview with de Monts, and laid before him the journal which he had prepared of his explorations in America, together with plans of the ports and coasts which he had minutely examined during his visits. Champlain proposed to de Monts to continue his explorations, and advanced some reasons for prosecuting an enterprise upon which a large sum had been already expended, and which he was persuaded would ultimately afford the means of repairing their fortunes. De Monts, owing to the failure of his own efforts as a colonizer, was not at first inclined to listen to Champlain's proposals, but he was finally convinced of the wisdom of his suggestions, and appointed him lieutenant of an expedition to Quebec for the purpose of trading with the Indians. The expedition was to return to France during the same year. De Monts obtained another commission from the king, dated at Paris, January 9th, 1608, which gave him the monopoly of the fur trade in the lands, ports and rivers of Canada for a period of one year. Two vessels were equipped for this expedition, the *Don de Dieu*, captain Henry Couillard, and the

*Lévrier*, captain Nicholas Marion. Champlain was given the command of the former vessel, and Pont-Gravé was in command of the latter. The *Lévrier* sailed from France on April 5th, and the *Don de Dieu* eight days later. The two vessels proceeded directly to Tadousac, without calling at Percé, according to the usual custom.

On the arrival of the *Don de Dieu* at Tadousac, Champlain found that Pont-Gravé had been attacked by Captain Darache, a Basque, who continued to trade furs with the Indians in spite of the king's commands. Darache had brought all his guns to bear upon the *Lévrier*, and Pont-Gravé being unable to defend himself, had offered no resistance, whereupon Darache's crew had boarded the vessel and carried off the cannon and arms, at the same time intimating that they would continue to trade as they pleased. The arrival of Champlain, however, altered the situation, and Darache was compelled to sign an agreement by which he pledged himself not to molest Pont-Gravé, or to do anything prejudicial to the interest of the king or of de Monts. It was also agreed that all differences should be settled by the authorities in France. After this agreement was effected through Champlain's intervention, the carpenters of the expedition fitted out a small barque to convey to Quebec all the articles necessary for the use of the future settlement.

In the meantime Champlain visited the river Saguenay, where he met some Indians from whom




Building the *Habitation*, Quebec, 1608 From the painting by C. W. Jefferys

he gathered information concerning Lake St. John and its tributaries. The information did not differ greatly from that which he had obtained in the year 1603. Champlain set out from Tadousac on the last day of June and arrived at Quebec on July 3rd, "Where I searched," he says, "for a place suitable for our settlement, but I could find none more convenient or better situated than the point of Quebec, so called by the savages, which was covered with nut trees."

Champlain was accompanied by thirty men, amongst whom may be named Nicholas Marsolet, Étienne Brûlé, Bonnerme, a doctor, Jean Duval, Antoine Natel and La Taille. These names are specially recorded. Champlain immediately employed some workmen to fell trees in order to commence the construction of an *Habitation.* One party was engaged in sawing timber, another in digging a cellar and some ditches, while another party was sent to Tadousac with a barque to obtain supplies which had been retained in the ships. Such was the beginning of Champlain's city. Nothing great, it will be admitted, for a settlement which its founder hoped before long would become the great warehouse of New France.

Until this date the merchants had traded with the Indians only in those places where they could easily be met, and even Chauvin, who was mentioned in a previous chapter, had not gone further than Tadousac. Neither Three Rivers, nor the

islands of Sorel at the entrance of the Iroquois River, now called the Richelieu River, were known to French navigators at this period, and although these places were easily accessible to the aborigines, they were not so available as Quebec.

Champlain well understood the advantages of founding his city on a spot naturally fortified and where he could readily defend himself against the attack of an enemy, whose approach he expected sooner or later. The first foes, however, whom Champlain had to encounter were not the Indians, but his own countrymen, members of his crew who under various pretexts sought to kill their chief and give the command of the settlement to the Basques. Jean Duval, the king's locksmith, was the leader of this conspiracy against Champlain, and associated with him were four vicious sailors to whom he promised a part of the reward which had been offered for this treason. The conspirators agreed to preserve secrecy, and fixed the night of the fourth day for the assassination of their chief.

On the day upon which the plot was to be put into execution, Captain Le Testu[1] arrived from Tadousac in command of a vessel laden with provisions, utensils, etc. After the vessel was unloaded, one of the conspirators, a locksmith named

[1] Le Testu's Christian name was Guillaume. His first voyage to Newfoundland was made in 1601. He came to Quebec in 1608, 1610, 1611, 1612, 1613, 1614, and 1616. He was successively captain of the *Fleur de Lys*, the *Trinité*, and the *Nativité*. He was very circumspect in his dealings.

Natel, approached the captain and acquainted him with the details of the plot. Champlain also listened to the man's account and promised to observe secrecy, although he took precautions to frustrate the scheme by inviting the leader and the four conspirators to an entertainment on board Captain Le Testu's barque.

The men accepted the invitation, and as soon as they were on board they were seized and held in custody until the following day. The deposition of each man was then taken by Champlain in the presence of the pilot and sailors, and set down in writing, after which the "worthies" were sent to Tadousac, where Champlain requested Pont-Gravé to guard them for a time. Some days after the men were returned to Quebec, where they were placed on trial for attempted murder.

The jury was composed of Champlain, Pont-Gravé, Le Testu, Bonnerme, the mate and the second mate, and some sailors. The verdict was unanimous. Duval was condemned to death on the spot as the instigator of the plot, and the others were also sentenced to death, but their sentence was to be carried out in France. Duval was strangled at Quebec, and his head was placed on a pike which was set up in the most conspicuous part of the fort. This was the second example of capital punishment in New France. The first case recorded was at Charlesbourg Royal, or Cap-Rouge, near Quebec, in the winter of 1542-3, when Michel

Gaillon, one of Roberval's companions, was put to death.

Champlain was invested with executive, legislative and judiciary powers, but the founder of Quebec never abused the authority intrusted to him. From this time every one fulfilled his duty day by day, and Champlain was able to continue his work in peace.

The habitation was composed of three buildings of two stories, each one of three fathoms long and two and a half wide. The storehouse was six fathoms long and three wide, with a cellar six feet deep. There was a gallery around the buildings, at the second story. There were also ditches fifteen feet wide and six deep. On the outer side of the ditches Champlain constructed several spurs, which enclosed a part of the dwelling, at the point where he placed a cannon. Before the habitation there was a square four fathoms wide and six or seven long, looking out upon the river bank. Surrounding the habitation were very good gardens, and an open space on the north side, some hundred and twenty paces long and fifty or sixty wide.

During the first weeks after his installation, Champlain made an investigation of the vicinity. "Near Quebec," he says, "there is a little river coming from a lake in the interior, distant six or seven leagues from our settlement. I am of opinion that this river, which is north a quarter north-west from our settlement, is the place where Jacques

Cartier wintered, since there are still, a league up the river, remains of what seems to have been a chimney, the foundation of which has been found, and indications of there having been ditches surrounding their dwelling, which was small. We found also, large pieces of hewn, worm-eaten timber, and some three or four cannon balls. All these things show clearly that there was a settlement there founded by Christians; and what leads me to say and believe that it was that of Jacques Cartier is the fact that there is no evidence whatever that any one wintered and built a house in these places except Jacques Cartier at the time of his discoveries."

This "little river coming from a lake in the interior," is evidently the river St. Charles, called Ste. Croix by Cartier. Champlain's conjectures about the place where Jacques Cartier wintered, are certainly correct. It was near this spot also that the Jesuits erected their convent of Notre Dame des Anges in 1626, namely, at two hundred feet from the shore, where the river Lairet joins the St. Charles.

Pont-Gravé sailed for France on September 18th, 1608, leaving Champlain with twenty-seven men, and provisions for the approaching winter at Quebec. The carpenters, sawyers, and other workmen were employed in clearing up the place and in preparing gardens.

Many Indians were encamped in the vicinity,

who proved troublesome neighbours, as they were constantly visiting the habitation, either to beg food for their families or to express their fear of invisible enemies. Champlain readily understood the character of these people, but he was too charitable to refuse them assistance in their need; besides he believed that they might easily be taught how to live and how to cultivate the soil. It was a difficult task, however, to induce the Indians to settle in any particular place. For generations they had led a wandering life, subsisting on the products of their hunting and fishing. This wild freedom was as necessary to their existence as the open air, and all attempts to make them follow the habits of civilized races seemed to tend towards their deterioration.

The early days of the French settlement at Quebec were distinguished by nothing remarkable. During the first winter scurvy and dysentery claimed many victims. Natel, the locksmith, died towards the end of November, and some time after Bonnerme, the doctor, was attacked and succumbed. Eighteen others also suffered from scurvy of whom ten died, and there were five deaths from dysentery, so that by the spring there were only eight men living, and Champlain himself was seriously indisposed. This was the third time that the founder of Quebec had had to experience the effects of this terrible disease, and although he was beginning to understand its causes, he was still unaware of a

specific. "I am confident," he says, "that, with good bread and fresh meat, a person would not be liable to it."

Many trials had been experienced by the settlers during their first winter of 1608-09, and they welcomed the return of spring. Des Marets[1] arrived at Quebec at this time, with tidings that Pont-Gravé, his father-in-law, had arrived at Tadousac on May 28th. Champlain at once repaired to Tadousac, where he received a letter from de Monts requesting him to return to France to acquaint him with the progress which he had made in the colony, and with the result of his explorations. Champlain returned to Quebec, and immediately fitted out an expedition to visit the country of the Iroquois, in the company of a party of Montagnais.

The Montagnais were anxious to carry on war against their ancient enemies, and although the wars had no attraction for Champlain, he hoped to be able to further his discoveries during the journey. Taking with him the twenty men placed at his disposal by Pont-Gravé, Champlain sailed from Quebec on June 18th, 1609. The command of the

[1] Champlain often speaks of this man. His true name was Claude Godet, Sieur des Marets. His father, Cléophas Godet, a lawyer, had three sons, Claude, Jean and Jessé. Jean was Sieur du Parc, and Jessé parish priest of Chambois in 1634. Both Claude and Jean came to Canada. Claude des Marets was married, in 1615, to Jeanne Gravé, only daughter of François Gravé, Sieur du Pont. He died about the year 1626, leaving one child named François, who came to New France with his grandfather, and was present at the capitulation of Quebec in 1629.

habitation was given to Pont-Gravé in the meantime. The expedition proceeded towards the island of St. Eloi, near the shores of which two or three hundred savages were encamped in tents. They proved to be Hurons and Algonquins who were on their way to Quebec to join Champlain's expedition to the territory of the Iroquois. Their chiefs were named Iroquet and Ochateguin, and Champlain explained to them the object of his voyage. The next day the two chiefs paid a visit to Champlain and remained silent for some time, meditating and smoking. After some reflection the chiefs began to harangue their companions on the banks of the river. They spoke for a long time in loud tones, and the substance of their remarks has been summed up in these words:—

"Ten moons ago Champlain had declared that he desired to assist them against their enemies, with whom they had been for a long time at warfare, on account of many cruel acts committed by them against their tribe, under colour of friendship. Having ever since longed for vengeance, they had solicited all the savages whom they had seen on the banks of the river to come and make an alliance. They had no children with them but men versed in war and full of courage, and well acquainted with the country and the rivers of the land of the Iroquois. They wanted to go to Quebec in order that they might see the French houses, but after three days they would return to engage in the war. As a

token of firm friendship and joy, Champlain should have muskets and arquebuses fired."

Champlain replied that he was glad to be able to fulfil his promise to them; he had no other purpose than to assist them in their wars; he had not come as a trader, but only with arms to fight. His word was given, and it was his desire that it should be kept. Thus was the alliance ratified which had been made in 1603 between the French and the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais, and the alliance was never broken.

Some historians have reproached Champlain for his intervention in the wars between the Indians of Canada, and have suggested that it would have been wiser to have preserved a strict neutrality, instead of taking up arms against the redoubtable and valiant Iroquois. In order to explain Champlain's actions, it is necessary to consider the relations of the French towards the other tribes. Many years before the period of which we are writing, certain French captains traded with the Montagnais Indians of Tadousac. These Indians were on friendly terms with the Hurons, the Algonquins Supérieurs of the Ottawa river, and the Souriquois of Acadia, and were united in their desire to subdue the terrible Iroquois. As the Iroquois did not trade, Champlain had no relations with them of a business character, and therefore he was not bound towards them in the same manner as he was towards the Hurons and others.

The Iroquois at first resided at Montreal and Three Rivers, while their neighbours, the Algonquins, were scattered along the shores of the Ottawa River, Lake Nipissing and French River. The Algonquins, who were brave and very numerous, succeeded in driving the Iroquois back to Lake Erie, and afterwards to Lake Ontario, near Lake Champlain. Here the Iroquois were distributed in five tribes, forming a great confederation. (1.) The Tsonnontouans or Senecas. (2.) The Goyogouins or Cayugas. (3.) The Onontagues or Onondagas. (4.) The Onneyouts or Oneidas. (5.) The Agniers or Mohawks. The Tsonnontouans were the most numerous, but the Agniers were the bravest and wildest.

The Iroquois or confederate tribes had by constant warfare become the greatest warriors of New France, nor is this fact surprising when we consider that they had waged successful warfare, extending over a long period, against the vast coalition of Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais and Micmacs scattered from Lake Huron to Acadia.

Anadabijou, chief of the Montagnais, made a long speech, telling his men that they ought to feel proud of the friendship of the king of France and of his people, upon whom they could rely for assistance in their wars. It was from that date that the alliance between the Indians and the French commenced, and, as Champlain was obliged to live in the neighbourhood of the Montagnais and Al-

gonquins, the only course open to him, if he desired to live in peace, was to fulfil his promise made to them.

In this year, 1609, Anadabijou reminded Champlain of the agreement made six years before. "Ten moons ago," he says, "the son of Iroquet had seen you. You gave him a good reception, and promised with Pont-Gravé to assist us against our enemies." To this Champlain replied, "My only desire is to fulfil what I promised then." Thus was sealed this solemn agreement.

If Champlain had refused to make an alliance with these Indians, they would have been a constant source of trouble, for although they were less ferocious than the Iroquois, they were still barbarians. Champlain and his few men could never have established a settlement at Quebec if they had been forced to encounter the hostility of the neighbouring Indians, for the whole of his work could have been overthrown by them in a single day.

The country of the Iroquois, on the contrary, was situated at a great distance, and consequently he had not so much to fear from them. It was Champlain's desire, however, to make a treaty with the Iroquois as well, for they were at this time even, and long after remained, the terror of North America. But war seemed necessary to the existence of the Iroquois, and Champlain, notwithstanding the exercise of his diplomacy, found it impossible to pacify these restless people.

It is true that the people of New Netherland had been able to maintain a neutral stand towards the Iroquois, and Champlain has been blamed for not following this example. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Dutch were powerful and numerous, and it was to their interest to live in harmony with their immediate neighbours, the Iroquois. The Dutch had also different intentions towards the Indians. They came to America simply to trade, and to establish themselves and live quietly along the shores of the Hudson River, while Champlain's idea was to civilize the Indians and bring them under the influence of the Catholic missionaries.

Champlain and the allied Indians left Quebec on June 28th, 1609. Des Marets, La Routte, a pilot, and nine men accompanied the expedition. On their voyage they passed certain rivers to which Champlain gave the following names, Ste. Suzanne (River du Loup), du Pont (Nicolet), de Gênes (Yamaska), and the Three Rivers.[1] The party stopped at the entrance of the Iroquois River. Continuing their journey southwards, they arrived at the Chambly Rapids. "No Christians had been in this place before us," says Champlain. Seeing no prospect of being able to cross the rapids alone, Champlain embarked with the Indians in their canoes, taking

[1] This is the river *de Fouez* of Jacques Cartier, and the *Metaberoutin* of the Indians, and now the river St. Maurice, to which historians have given the name of Three Rivers, because two islands divide it into three branches at its entrance; these branches are called *Les Chenaux*, or the narrow channels.

only two men with him. Champlain's army, comprising sixty men, then proceeded slowly towards Lake Champlain, and a few days after the party arrived at Lake St. Sacrament (Lake George). On July 29th they encountered the Iroquois, who had come to fight, at the extremity of Lake Champlain, on the western bank. The entire night was spent by each army in dancing and singing, and in bandying words. At daybreak Champlain's men stood to arms. The Iroquois were composed of about two hundred men, stout and rugged in appearance, with their three chiefs at their head, who could be distinguished by their large plumes. The Indians opened their ranks and called upon Champlain to go to the front. The arrows were beginning to fly on both sides when Champlain discharged his musket, which was loaded with four balls, and killed two of the chiefs and mortally wounded the third. This unexpected blow caused great alarm among the Iroquois, who lost courage, abandoned their camp and took to flight, seeking shelter in the woods. Fifteen or sixteen men of Champlain's party were wounded, but the enemy had many wounded, and ten or twelve were taken prisoners.

This victory did not entail much hardship on the part of the French. Champlain and his two companions did more to rout the Iroquois than the sixty allies with their shower of arrows. The result of this day's proceedings was highly satisfactory to the Indians, who gathered up the arms and provi-

sions left behind by the Iroquois, and feasted sumptuously amidst dancing and singing. "The spot where this attack took place," says Champlain, "is in the latitude of 43° and some minutes, and the lake is called Champlain." This place is now called Ticonderoga, or the Cheondoroga of the Indians.

Champlain returned to Quebec with the Montagnais, and a few days after he set out for Tadousac to see whether Pont-Gravé had arrived from Gaspé. He met Pont-Gravé on the morrow, and they both decided to sail for France, and to leave Quebec in the meantime under the command of Pierre de Chauvin,[1] pending the decision of de Monts as to the future of the colony. Both visited Quebec in order to invest Chauvin with authority, and after leaving him everything necessary for the use of the settlement, and placing fifteen men under his command, the two commanders left Quebec on September 1st, 1609, and sailed from Tadousac for France on the fifth day of the same month.

Champlain had sojourned in New France since the beginning of July, 1608, and during that interval he had made good use of his time. He had chosen the most suitable place for a habitation which was destined to become the metropolis of the

[1] Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de la Pierre, called Captain Pierre by Champlain, was born at Dieppe, but after the death of his relative, Pierre de Chauvin, Sieur de Tontuit, he resided at Honfleur. There were many families of Chauvin in Normandy during the seventeenth century, notably the Chauvins, Sieurs de Tontuit, and the Chauvins, Sieurs de la Pierre.

French colony; he had constructed a fort and a storehouse, and he had also explored a very important tract of country. Champlain had also visited a part of the river Saguenay; he had made himself acquainted with the vicinity of Quebec, and with the rivers, streams and tributaries of the St. Lawrence and Ste. Croix. For the second time he had seen the river St. Lawrence as far as the Iroquois River over which he had sailed as far as Lake Champlain, whence it receives its waters. Besides his achievements in exploration Champlain had cemented friendly relations with the Montagnais, Algonquins and Hurons; he had renewed his acquaintance with Anadabijou and formed an alliance with Iroquet and Ochateguin, three of the most powerful chiefs of these tribes. He was also well versed in their methods of warfare and had studied their manners and customs and their treatment of their prisoners, so that when he returned to France he was in a position to give de Monts a great deal of valuable information, both as regards the inhabitants and the best means of promoting trade with them.

On his arrival in France Champlain proceeded at once to Fontainebleau, where he met King Henry IV and de Monts. He had an audience with the king and gave His Majesty a satisfactory account of his proceedings. He also presented to the king a girdle made of porcupine quills, two little birds of carnation colour, and the head of a fish caught in

Lake Champlain, which had a very long snout, and two or three rows of very sharp teeth.

To de Monts the visit of Champlain was of great importance, because the fate of Quebec was bound up with him. After hearing Champlain's narrative of his voyages in New France, de Monts decided to visit Rouen in order to consult Collier and Legendre, his associates. After deliberation they resolved to continue their efforts to colonize New France and to further explore the great river St. Lawrence. In order to realize means for defraying the expenses of the expedition, Pont-Gravé was authorized to engage in any traffic that would help to accomplish this end. In the meantime Lucas Legendre was ordered to purchase merchandise for the expedition, to see to the repairs of the vessels, and to obtain crews. After these details had been arranged de Monts and Champlain returned to Paris to settle the more important questions.

De Monts' commission, which had been issued for one year, had expired, but he hoped that it would be renewed. His requests, which appeared just and reasonable, were, however, refused, owing to protests on the part of merchants of Bretagne and Normandy, who claimed that this monopoly was ruinous to their commerce. Finally de Monts appealed to his former partners, who decided to furnish two vessels, at their own expense, with supplies and stores necessary for the settlement. Pont-Gravé was given the command of a fur-trad-

ing vessel, and the other was laden with provisions and stores necessary for the use of the settlers. Champlain was informed that his services were dispensed with, but not believing that this news could be true, he saw de Monts and asked him frankly whether such was the case. De Monts told him that he could accompany the expedition, if he chose to do so. Champlain therefore set out from Paris on the last day of February, 1610, and proceeded to Rouen, where he remained for two days, and then left for Honfleur, to meet Pont-Gravé and Legendre, who informed him that the vessels were ready to sail.

## CHAPTER IV

### CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGES OF 1610, 1611, 1613

CHAMPLAIN embarked at Honfleur with eleven artisans for Quebec, on March 7th, 1610. The rough weather experienced during the first days of the voyage rendered it necessary for the vessel to run into Portland, on the English coast, and later to seek refuge in the harbour of the Isle of Wight. At this time Champlain was taken suddenly ill, and was obliged to return by boat to Havre de Grâce to undergo medical treatment. A month after he rejoined his former vessel, which in the meantime had returned to Honfleur to take in ballast. Champlain had now somewhat recovered, although he was still weak and ill.

The vessel left Honfleur on April 8th, and reached Tadousac on the 26th of the same month, which was one of the shortest passages ever made up to that time. "There were vessels," says Champlain, "which had arrived on the 18th of the month, a thing which had not been seen for more than sixty years, as the old mariners said who sail regularly to this country." This remark proves that for more than half a century French fishermen and navigators had been accustomed to proceed as far as Tadousac. A Basque, named Lavalette, who had

been accustomed to fish on the Acadian coast from about the year 1565, also confirms the statement.

On his arrival at Tadousac, Champlain ascertained from a young nobleman, named du Parc,[1] who had wintered with Chauvin at Quebec, that all the settlers were in good health, and that only a few of them had been slightly ill. They had been able to procure fresh meat during the whole season, and consequently scurvy had not made its appearance. "By avoiding salt food and using fresh meat, the health is as good here as in France."

The Indians had been waiting from day to day for the return of Champlain, for they wished him to accompany them to war. He therefore went ashore to assure them that he would fulfil his promise under the conditions made, namely, that upon his return they would point out to him the three rivers, and the lake which they had described as resembling a sea, the end of which could not be seen, and by means of which he could return by way of the Saguenay to Tadousac. The Indians had readily promised to do all this, but only in the following year. Champlain had also promised the Hurons and Algonquins that he would assist them in their wars, if they would show him their country, the great lake and the copper mines. "I had accord-

[1] Jean Godet, Sieur du Parc, was a brother of Claude des Marets. He came with his brother to Quebec in 1609, and wintered there. In 1616 he commanded at Quebec. On his return to France, he remained at St. Germain de Clairefeuille, where he died on November 16th, 1652.

ingly," he said, " two strings to my bow, so that, in case one should break, the other might hold."

On April 25th, 1610, Champlain set out from Tadousac for Quebec, where he found Captain Chauvin and his companions in good health. They had with them a stranger named Captain Batiscan, who was so pleased at Champlain's return that he and his comrades showed their appreciation by singing and dancing all night. Champlain entertained them at a banquet, with which they were delighted.

Some days after a party of the Montagnais, numbering about sixty men, made their appearance at Quebec, *en route* for the war. They presented themselves before Champlain, and said: " Here are numerous Basques and Mistigoches (so they named the Normans and Malouins) who say they will go to the war with us. What do you think of it? Do they speak the truth?" Champlain answered: " No, I know very well what they really mean; they say this only to get possession of your commodities." The Indians replied: " You have spoken the truth. They are women and want to make war only upon our beavers." Confiding in Champlain's word, the Montagnais went to Three Rivers under the agreement that a general rendezvous should be held there with the French. The Hurons were to await them at the entrance of the Iroquois River.

Champlain started on his journey on June 14th. When he was eight leagues from Quebec he met a canoe bearing an Algonquin and a Montagnais,

who entreated him to hasten towards Three Rivers, as the Algonquins and Hurons would be at the meeting-place within two days. The Algonquins presented Champlain with a piece of copper a foot long and quite pure, and stated that there were large quantities to be found on the bank of a river, near a great lake. The Indians also stated that they collected the copper in lumps, and after they had melted it, spread it in sheets and smoothed it with stones. Champlain was well pleased to receive this present, although it was of small value.

The Montagnais assembled at Three Rivers, and on June 18th they all set out together. On the following day they arrived at an island situated at the mouth of the river Richelieu, which the Montagnais used to frequent when they wished to avoid the Iroquois.

An alarm was soon given that the Algonquins had fallen in with a band of Iroquois, numbering one hundred, who were strongly barricaded. Each man then took his arms and set out in a canoe towards the enemy. The firing immediately began, and Champlain was wounded by an arrow which pierced his ear and entered his neck. He seized the arrow and withdrew it from the wound. The Iroquois were much astonished at the noise caused by the discharge of the French muskets, and some of them, seeing their companions wounded or dead, threw themselves upon the ground whenever they heard a musket fired. Champlain resolved after

a while to force the barricade, sword in hand, which he accomplished without much resistance, and entered the fort. Fifteen prisoners were taken, and the rest were killed either by musket shots, arrows, or the sword. The savages, according to their custom, scalped the dead. The Montagnais and Algonquins had three killed and fifty wounded. On the following day Pont-Gravé and Chauvin did some trading in peltry.

Amongst Champlain's party there was a young lad named Nicholas Marsolet, who desired to accompany the Algonquins in order to learn their language, and he was pleased to learn that after much deliberation the Algonquins had decided to take him, on the condition that Champlain accepted a young Huron as hostage. The Indian boy was named Savignon by the French. Lescarbot writes that he met this youth many times in Paris, and that "he was a big and stout boy."

The French and the allied Indians separated with many promises of friendship. The Indians departed for the fall of the great river of Canada, and the French, with Champlain at their head, proceeded to Quebec. On the return journey they met at Lake St. Peter, Pont-Gravé, who was on his way to Tadousac, to arrange some business connected with headquarters.

Pont-Gravé contemplated passing the winter at Quebec, but in the meantime des Marets arrived from France, much to the delight of every one,

as his vessel was long overdue. The news which he brought, however, was so serious that both Champlain and Pont-Gravé decided to return to France. The intelligence received was to the effect that M. de St. Luc had expelled the Catholics from Brouage, that the king had been killed, and that the Duke of Sully and two other noblemen had shared the same fate.

Champlain was much distressed over the condition of affairs in France, and on his departure he left du Parc in command of Quebec, and placed under him sixteen men, "all of whom were enjoined to live soberly, and in the fear of God, and in strict observance of the obedience due to the authority of du Parc." The settlement was left with a plentiful supply of kitchen vegetables, together with a sufficient quantity of Indian corn, wheat, rye and barley. Everything was in good order when Champlain set out from Quebec on August 8th, five days after Pont-Gravé's vessel sailed from Tadousac for France. On September 27th they arrived at Honfleur, the voyage having lasted one month and a half.

This second voyage of Champlain did not restore de Monts' fortunes. The withdrawal of the exclusive privilege of trading was the signal for a large number of trading vessels to appear in the St. Lawrence. In fact the operations were so great as to render the profits of the company null. The disaster was so complete that Champlain says: "Many will remem-

ber for a long time the loss made this year." For all the labour which Champlain had bestowed upon the settlement the result was small, and it was evident that if any French merchant were allowed without restrictions to trade with the Indians, commerce would be ruined, and the development of the settlement would be impossible. During the first years a beaver skin could be exchanged in return for two knives, and now fifteen or twenty were required for the same exchange. Champlain therefore desired to establish some form of rule by which commerce could be restricted, or in other words, whereby he or de Monts, or any one else who would undertake the direction of the affairs of New France, might be protected.

It was during this winter of 1610-11, that Champlain, who was now more than forty years of age, entertained thoughts of marriage. His constant voyages during the past twelve years had probably prevented him from entering into this estate before. It is, perhaps, somewhat surprising that he so suddenly put aside this consideration against the marriage. Did he contemplate residing permanently at Quebec, or did he foresee that circumstances would render his remaining in New France improbable? There is nothing in his narrative which throws any light on this question. Champlain does not mention the name of his wife in any of his writings, but we find later that she accompanied him to Quebec, where she dwelt for four years. The name of Cham-

plain's wife was Hélène Boullé, the daughter of Nicholas Boullé, secretary of the king's chamber, and of Marguerite Alix of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris. Hélène Boullé was born in 1598, and at the time of her marriage she was only twelve years of age. Her parents were Calvinists, and she was brought up in the same faith, but through the lessons and influence of her husband she became a Catholic.

The marriage settlements were executed at Paris on December 27th, 1610, and signed by Choquillot and Arragon, notaries, in the presence of the parents and friends of both parties. Among those who attended on that occasion were Pierre du Gua, friend; Lucas Legendre, of Rouen, friend; Hercule Rouer, merchant of Paris; Marcel Chenu, merchant of Paris; Jehan Roernan, secretary of de Monts, Champlain's friend; François Lesaige, druggist of the king's stables, friend and relative; Jehan Ravenel, Sieur de la Merrois; Pierre Noël, Sieur de Cosigné, friend; Anthoine de Murad, king's councillor and almoner; Anthoine Marye; Barbier, surgeon, relative and friend; Geneviève Lesaige, wife of Simon Alix, uncle of Hélène Boullé, on the mother's side.

According to the terms of the contract, Nicholas Boullé and his wife pledged themselves, by anticipated payment of the inheritance, to pay six thousand livres cash, the day preceding the marriage. Champlain also agreed to give his future wife the

benefit of his wealth at his death. Two days after, Nicholas Boullé sent to his son-in-law the sum of four thousand five hundred livres, the balance was to be sent later on.

The betrothal took place in the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, on Wednesday, December 29th, 1610, and on the following day the marriage was celebrated in the same church. As the young bride was not of marriageable age, she returned to her family to live with them for two years, as agreed by the contract.

Champlain then resumed his colonization work, and had an interview with de Monts, in order to induce him to take some action in his favour. Although the profits to be realized from the enterprise were not certain, it seemed probable that fur-trading, and developing the resources of the country, might become advantageous. The expenses of the undertaking were also small: a few barrels of biscuits, of pease and cider would be found sufficient to sustain the fifteen or twenty men who formed the nucleus of the colony. From year to year Champlain hoped to be able to monopolize the fur trade, not for himself, but for the company of de Monts.

The vessels which were equipped for the expedition were ready to sail on March 1st, 1611. The passage was very rough, and when about eight leagues distant from the Great Banks of Newfoundland, the vessels were in great danger through the number of icebergs which were encountered. The

cold was so intense that it was found difficult to navigate the vessel. While in the vicinity of Newfoundland, they communicated with a French ship, on board of which was Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, who was bound for Port Royal to meet his father. He had left France three months previously, and had been unable to find his way to the Acadian coast.

After having sighted Gaspé, Champlain arrived at Tadousac on May 13th, where he found all the country covered with snow. The savages were informed of Champlain's arrival by cannon shot, and they soon made their appearance. They stated that three or four trading vessels had arrived within the last eight days, but that their business had been a failure on account of the scarcity of furs.

Champlain proceeded at once to Quebec, where he found everything in good order, and neither du Parc nor his companions had suffered from any sickness. Game had been abundant during the whole winter. Champlain intended to visit Three Rivers, but Batiscan said that he would not be prepared to conduct him there until next year. As he was unable to carry out his designs, Champlain took with him Savignon and one Frenchman, and visited the great fall. He made a careful examination of the country, and says:—

"But in all that I saw I found no place more favourable than a little spot to which barques and shallops can easily ascend with the help of a strong

wind, or by taking a winding course, in consequence of the strong current. But above this place, which we named *La Place Royale*, at the distance of a league from Mont Royal, there are a great many little rocks and shoals which are very dangerous. . . . Formerly savages tilled these lands. . . . There is a large number of other fine pastures, where any number of cattle can graze. . . . After a careful examination, we found this place one of the finest on this river. I accordingly gave orders to cut down and clear up the woods in the Place Royale, so as to level it and prepare it for building."

This was the beginning of Montreal, the wealthiest city of Canada.

Champlain constructed a wall four feet thick, three or four feet high, and thirty feet long. This fort was placed on an elevation twelve feet higher than the level of the soil, so that it was safe from inundation. Champlain named the island Ste. Hélène, in honour of his wife, and he found that a strong town could be built there. To-day this island is a favourite resort for the inhabitants of Montreal, and it is an ornament to the harbour of the large city.

On June 13th two hundred Hurons arrived at Sault St. Louis, so called from a young Frenchman named Louis, who was drowned in the rapids a few days before. The Hurons were under the command of Ochateguin, Iroquet and Tregouaroti. The latter was a brother of Savignon, the young Huron whom

Champlain had taken with him to France. The interview, which lasted some time, was most cordial. The Indians said that they felt somewhat uneasy on seeing so many Frenchmen who were not specially united, and that they had desired to see Champlain alone, towards whom they were as kindly disposed as towards their own children.

Champlain questioned them on the sources of the great river, and on their own country. Four of them declared that they had seen a large sea at a great distance from their village. After exchanging their peltry with Champlain's consent, some of the Hurons left to follow the war-path, while others returned to their own country. This interview occurred on July 18th, 1611. On the same day Champlain set out for Quebec, where he arrived on the nineteenth. Here he found that certain necessary repairs had to be made. He also planted some rose bushes, and caused some oak wood to be placed on board a vessel for shipment to France, as a specimen of the wood of the new colony, which he considered suitable, not only for marine wainscoting, but also for windows and doors.

Champlain sailed from Quebec on July 20th, and arrived at La Rochelle on September 16th. De Monts was at Pons, in Saintonge, at this time, and it was here that he received a visit from Champlain. After listening to Champlain's narrative of his proceedings, de Monts decided to proceed to court to

arrange matters. He held a conference with the merchants at Fontainebleau, but he found that they were unwilling to continue to support the enterprise. He concluded a bargain with them for what remained in the Quebec settlement by the payment of a certain sum of money, and from that date de Monts' company ceased to exist. There was only one man who had faith in the future of the colony, and who remained staunch to its interests under all difficulties; this man was Champlain.

De Monts had shown great energy in opposing the impediments to the undertaking which were offered by the merchants of Rouen, St. Malo and La Rochelle, and as he hoped to regain the money which he had already expended, he considered that it was time to receive assistance from the king. Louis XIII listened attentively to de Monts' requests, but he did not accede to them. De Monts, therefore, informed Champlain that he was compelled to abandon the enterprise. This was the last interview between these two men.

Champlain was now left to his own resources for continuing his work. His personal means were small, and far too slender to enable him to support a colony in its infancy. The thought of abandoning the settlement was repugnant to him, not only on account of the years of labour he had bestowed upon it, but also because he felt that there was every chance of success with the aid of rich and powerful men.

At the commencement of his description of his first voyage to Canada, Champlain enumerates the reasons which induced him to continue his work of discovery: "The desire which I have always had of making new discoveries in New France, for the good, profit and glory of the French name, and at the same time to lead the poor natives to the knowledge of God, has led me to seek more and more for the greater facility of this undertaking, which can only be secured by means of good regulations."

Then he drew up a statement,[1] which he handed to President Jeannin, whom he knew to be well disposed.

The president encouraged Champlain, but in order that he might not be deceived, he thought it better that Champlain should act under the authority of some man whose influence would be sufficient to protect him against the jealousy of the merchants. Champlain, therefore, addressed himself through M. de Beaulieu, councillor and almoner in ordinary to the king, to Charles de Bourbon, Comte de Soissons,

[1] This volume is entitled : *Les Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois, capitaine pour le Roy, en la marine.* . . . A Paris, MDCXIII. This volume contains a letter to the king, another one to the queen, stanzas addressed to the French, an ode to Champlain on his book and his marine maps, signed by Motin. The first book contains the voyages of Champlain along the coasts of Acadia and New England. The second relates to the voyages of Champlain to Quebec, in the years 1608, 1610 and 1611. This edition is the most useful and the most interesting of all. Two large maps of New France give an excellent idea of the country, though they are not absolutely accurate.

then governor of Dauphiné and Normandy. He urged upon the count the importance of the undertaking, and explained the best means of regulating it, claiming that the disorders which had hitherto existed threatened to ruin the enterprise, and to bring dishonour to the name of the French.

After having examined the map of the country, and studied the details of the scheme, Soissons promised, under the sanction of the king, to assume the protectorate of the undertaking. Louis XIII listened favourably to the petition of his loyal subject, and granted the direction and control of the settlement to the count, who in due course honoured Champlain with the lieutenancy. Soon after this event, however, the count died, and His Majesty committed the direction of affairs to Monseigneur Le Prince de Condé, who retained Champlain as his lieutenant.

After having caused his commission to be posted in all the ports of Normandy, Champlain sailed from France on March 6th, in the vessel of Pont-Gravé, and arrived at Pointe aux Vaches, near Tadousac, on April 24th, 1613.

The savages came on board the vessel and inquired for Champlain. Some one replied that he had remained in France. On hearing this, an old man approached Champlain, who was walking in a corner of the vessel, and examined the scar on his ear, which was caused by an arrow wound while fighting for the Indians. On seeing this, the old man recog-

nized Champlain, and expressed his feelings by shouts of delight, in which he was joined by his companions, who said, "Your people are awaiting you in the harbour of Tadousac."

On arriving at Tadousac, Champlain found that these Indians were almost dying of hunger, and after having affixed the arms and commission of His Majesty to a post in the port, he proceeded to Quebec, which he reached on May 7th. The people of the settlement were all in good health, and the winter having been less severe than usual, the river had not frozen once. The leaves were beginning to appear on the trees, and the fields were already decked with flowers.

On the 13th of the month Champlain left for the Falls of St. Louis, which he reached eight days afterwards. Here he met a number of the Algonquins, who informed him that the bad treatment which they had experienced during the previous year had discouraged them from coming to trade, and that his long absence from the country had left the whole tribe under the impression that he did not intend to return. On hearing this, Champlain recognized that it would be advisable to visit the Algonquins at once, in order to continue his discoveries, and to preserve friendly relations with them.

During his residence in France, Champlain had met a young Frenchman named Nicholas du Vignau, who claimed to have seen the Northern Sea,

and said that the Algonquin River flowed from a lake which emptied into it. He also stated that the journey from Sault St. Louis to this sea and return could be accomplished in seventeen days, and that he had seen there the wreck and débris of an English ship, on board of which were eighty men. This intelligence seemed the more probable as the English were supposed to have visited the Labrador coast in 1612, where they had discovered a strait.

Champlain requested a merchant of La Rochelle, named Georges, to give du Vignau a passage on his ship, which he did willingly, and he also made an affidavit before a notary concerning du Vignau's Relation. Du Vignau came to Canada, and accompanied Champlain on his visit to the Algonquins. The party, consisting of four Frenchmen and one savage, set out from Ste. Helen's Island on May 27th, 1613.

After having passed the falls they entered Lake St. Louis. On the last day of May they passed Lake des Deux Montagnes, which Champlain called Lake de Soissons. Some days after they came in sight of the river Gatineau, the river Rideau and its fall, and the Chaudière Falls, where they were forced to land. They also passed the rapid des Chats, Lake des Chats, Madawaska River, Muskrat Lake, and Allumette Island, where an Algonquin chief named Tessoüat resided. On the following day the Indians gave a *tabagie* in honour of Cham-

plain, who after smoking the pipe of peace with the party, explained to them that the object of his visit was to assure them of his friendship, and to assist them in their wars, as he had done before.[1]

He told them also that he was making an excursion into their country to observe the fertility of the soil, and study their lakes and rivers, and to discover the sea which he was told was in their vicinity. Champlain therefore requested them to furnish four canoes, and eight Indians as guides, to conduct the party to the Nipissirini, in order to induce their enemies to fight.

The chief Tessoüat, speaking in behalf of the whole tribe, said that he regarded Champlain as the most friendly of all the French, for the others were unwilling to help them in their wars, but that they had resolved not to go to the falls again, and that, owing to the long absence of Champlain from the country, they had been compelled to go to the wars alone. They therefore begged him to postpone his expedition until the following year.

They granted Champlain's request of four canoes with great reluctance, and stated that the Nipissirini

[1] In August, 1867, a farmer called Overman, found on his land, lot 12, township of Ross, county of Renfrew, Ontario, an astrolabe supposed to have been lost by Champlain during this expedition. From June 6th, 1613, Champlain seems to have ceased his observations, as he does not say after this date: "I have taken the latitude." This fact would seem to prove that the instrument was not used after June 6th, 1613. Some pamphlets have been written on the astrolabe, and they all agree that it had belonged to Champlain. Mr. Russell, one of the writers, has given a full description of it.

were sorcerers, and not their friends. Champlain insisted on having the guides, and stated that he had brought with him a young man who would find no difficulty in visiting the country of the Nipissirini.

Tessoüat thereupon addressed the young man by name, and said: "Nicholas, is it true that you were among the Nebicerini?" "Yes," said he in Algonquin language, "I was there." "You are a downright liar," replied Tessoüat, "you know well that you slept at my side every night, with my children, where you arose every morning; if you were among the people mentioned, it was while sleeping. How could you have been as bold as to lead your chief to believe lies, and so wicked as to be willing to expose his life to so many dangers? You are a worthless fellow and ought to be put to death, more cruelly than we do our enemies."

Shortly after, Champlain advised the Indians that the young lad had confessed that he had lied concerning his visits to the Nipissirini country. By telling them the facts Champlain hoped to ensure the life of Nicholas du Vignau, as the savages had said, "Give him to us, and we promise that he shall not lie any more."

On June 10th Champlain took leave of Tessoüat, after making him presents and promising to return during the next year to assist in the war. Continuing his course, Champlain again approached the Chaudière Falls, where the savages went through a ceremony peculiar to them, which is thus described:

"After carrying their canoes to the foot of the falls, they assembled in one spot, where one of them took up a collection in a wooden plate, into which each one placed a piece of tobacco. The collection having been made, the plate was placed in the middle of the troupe, as they all danced around it, singing after their style. Then one of them made a harangue, setting forth that for a long time they had been accustomed to make this offering, by means of which they were insured protection against their enemies, and that otherwise misfortune would befall them, as they were convinced by the evil spirit; and that they lived on in this superstition, as in many others. This done, the maker of the harangue took the plate, and threw the tobacco into the midst of the caldron, whereupon they all raised a loud cry."

Such was the superstition of these savages that they considered a favourable journey impossible without this uncouth ceremony. It was at this portage that their enemies had been wont to surprise them.

On June 17th they arrived at Sault St. Louis on their return journey. Captain L'Ange, who was the confidant of Champlain, brought news that Maisonneuve of St. Malo had arrived with a passport from the Prince de Condé for three vessels. Champlain therefore allowed him to trade with the savages.

As the trade with the savages was now completed, Champlain resolved to return to France

by the first vessel which was ready to start. He accepted a passage in Maisonneuve's vessel, which arrived at St. Malo on August 26th. Champlain had an interview with the merchants, to whom he represented that a good association could be formed in the future. The merchants resolved to follow the example of those of Rouen and La Rochelle.

In concluding this chapter we may repeat the words of Champlain: "May God by His grace cause this undertaking to prosper to His honour and glory the conversion of these poor benighted ones, and to the honour and welfare of France."[1]

[1] *Quatrième voyage du Sr. de Champlain, capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine, et Lieutenant de Monseigneur le Prince de Condé en la Nouvelle France, fait en l'année 1613.* This Relation contains a letter to Henri de Condé, and a geographical map, made in 1612, of a large size and very curious. The history of this voyage is really a part of the so-called edition of 1613, and the printing of it was done at the same time as the Relations of the first, second and third voyages, which form altogether a large volume of three hundred and twenty-five pages.

## CHAPTER V

### THE RÉCOLLETS AND THEIR MISSIONS

CHAMPLAIN'S affection for New France, the land of his adoption, made him anxious to continue his explorations, in order that he might become familiar with every locality. In the course of his voyages he often had to be conveyed in Indian canoes, especially on the lakes and rivers, but this means was sufficient only when his object was to ascertain whether the country was well watered, whether the rivers were more or less navigable, whether the lakes abounded with fish, and whether the water powers were capable of being turned to account. Up till this time the founder of Quebec had pressed forward his work of exploration with an energy that was almost astonishing. He had rowed up the Iroquois River as far as lake Champlain, and he had also navigated the Ottawa River in a manner that had even surprised the Algonquins. Still many things remained to be done and to be seen, such as to observe the fertility of the soil in different latitudes, to study the manners and customs of the Indians, especially of the great Huron tribe, which was the most populous and probably better disposed to receive Christian instruction than the other tribes. Champlain's ambition had always

been to introduce Christianity in order to civilize the people. Thus we find in his writings after his return to France in 1614, the words:

"Without losing courage, I have not ceased to push on and visit various nations of the savages, and by associating familiarly with them, I have concluded, as well from their conversation as from the knowledge attained, that there is no better way than, disregarding all storms and difficulties, to have patience until His Majesty shall give the requisite attention to the matter, and in the meantime to continue the exploration of the country, but also to learn the language, and form relations and friendship with the leading men of the villages and tribes, in order to lay the foundations of a permanent edifice, as well for the glory of God as for the renown of the French."

It is well to observe the significance of these words from the pen of Champlain. Is this the language of a common fur-trader, simply seeking to increase his fortune? What were really Champlain's designs during all these years of labour and self-sacrifice? Was he animated by the mere curiosity of the tourist, or the ambition of a man of science? No. Champlain desired, it is true, to gain an intimate knowledge of the country, and his labours are highly valued as a geographer and cosmographer, but his intention was to utilize all his varied information to promote the Christian religion and at the same time to increase the renown of his native land.

Champlain deserves credit, not only for the idea of bringing missionaries to Canada, but also for having realized his ideas. He obtained the coöperation of many pious and zealous persons in France, who willingly seconded his efforts, but it was owing to his own steadfastness of purpose and to his great ability that his designs were successfully carried out. After having formed a society of merchants to take the material affairs of the colony in hand, Champlain tried to get some religious orders to assume the direction of spiritual matters. He had previously made known his plan to Louis Hoüel, king's councillor, and comptroller of the salt works at Brouage, and sieur of Petit-Pré. Hoüel was an honourable and pious man, and a friend of Champlain. He told him that he was acquainted with some Récollets who would readily agree to proceed to New France. Hoüel met Father du Verger, a man of great virtue and ability, and principal of the order of the Immaculate Conception. Father du Verger made an appeal to his confrères, all of whom offered their services, and were ready to cross the ocean.

The cardinals and bishops who were then gathered at St. Denis for their great chapter, were in favour of the idea of sending the Récollets to their foreign missions, and promised to raise a fund for the maintenance of four monks, and the merchants of Rouen promised to maintain and convey at least six Récollets gratuitously. The king issued letters for the

future church of Canada. The pope's nuncio, Guido Bentivoglio, granted the requisite permission, in conformity with the pope's wishes, but the bull establishing the church was only forwarded on May 20th, 1615. The brief of Paul V granted to the Récollets the following privileges:

"To receive all children born of believing and unbelieving parents, and all others of what condition soever they may be, who, after promising to keep and observe all that should be kept and observed by the faithful, will embrace the truth of the Christian and Catholic faith; to baptize even outside of the churches in case of necessity; to hear confessions of penitents, and after diligently hearing them, to impose a salutary penance according to their faults, and enjoin what should be enjoined in conscience, to loose and absolve them from all sentences of excommunication and other ecclesiastical pains and censures, as also from all sorts of crimes, excesses, and delicts; to administer the sacraments of the eucharist, marriage and extreme unction; to bless all kinds of vestments, vessels and ornaments when holy unction is not necessary; to dispense gratuitously new converts who have contracted or would contract marriage in any degree of consanguinity, or affinity whatever, except the first or second, or between ascending and descending, provided the women have not been carried off by force, and the two parties who have contracted or would contract be Catholics, and there be just cause as

well for the marriages already contracted as for those desired to be contracted; to declare and pronounce the children born and issued of such marriages legitimate; to have an altar which they may decently carry, and thereon to celebrate in decent and becoming places where the convenience of a church shall be wanting."

The Reverend Father Garnier de Chapouin, provincial of the province of St. Denis, appointed four monks as the founders of the future mission. Their names were Father Denis Jamet, Jean d'Olbeau, Joseph Le Caron, and a brother named Pacifique du Plessis, who received orders to accompany them. These four monks were all remarkable for their virtue and apostolic zeal. Father Jamet was appointed commissary, and Father d'Olbeau was appointed his successor in the event of death. The king granted them authority to build one or more convents in Canada, and to send for as many monks as were required. It was impossible to send more than four of them during the first year.

On April 24th, 1615, the *St. Étienne* sailed from Honfleur, and one month later came to anchor at Tadousac. On June 25th, Father d'Olbeau was able to say mass in a small chapel built at the foot of Mountain Hill, Quebec.

Soon after his arrival at Quebec, Champlain set out for the falls, accompanied by Father Jamet. They reached the river des Prairies some days after, and on June 24th, Father Jamet celebrated a solemn

mass, at which Champlain and some others assisted. This was the first mass celebrated in Canada since the days of Jacques Cartier.

In the early days of the settlement these brave missionaries had to contend with many difficulties, which could be foreseen only by those who were acquainted with the existing state of affairs. Many of these difficulties arose from the fact that at least a fourth of the merchants of the company were members of the so-called reformed, or Calvinistic persuasion. It is easy to comprehend that the sympathies of these men would not incline towards the Catholic religion.

Champlain draws particular attention to the unfortunate results produced by the existence of different creeds. Differences arose, and divisions were created which sometimes resulted in quarrels between children of the same country. These quarrels which were much to be deplored, did not, however, occur in Quebec, because the French merchants did not deem it advisable to send their ministers there, but replaced them by agents who were often fanatical, and were for the Récollets a frequent source of bitterness and annoyance. The most of the disorders occurred on board the vessels, and were due to the fact that the crews were too hastily engaged.

The merchants, however, were bound to colonize the country with Catholic settlers, and de Monts was also bound by similar conditions. Moreover,

the terms of the patents expressly stipulated that this should be carried out. They were also forbidden to extend Calvinism among the savages. "This policy," says Bancroft, "was full of wisdom." The interpreters who could have greatly assisted the missionaries, proved on the contrary an obstacle to the development of the Catholic religion, for they refused to instruct the Récollets in the Indian languages, which they had learnt before the arrival of the missionaries.

Father Lalemant, a Jesuit, wrote in the year 1626: "This interpreter had never wanted to communicate his knowledge of the language to any one, not even to the Reverend Récollet Fathers, who had constantly importuned him for ten years." So also wrote Father Le Jeune in his Relation of 1633.

The difficulties that the missionaries had to overcome are therefore readily understood. However they had the merit of preparing the way for their successors, and the honour of planting the cross of Jesus Christ everywhere, from Tadousac to Lake Huron.

The number of missionaries was limited at the commencement, but some others came to Canada later, particularly Fathers Guillaume Poullain, Georges Le Baillif, and Paul Huet. These men, some of whom were of noble birth, were remarkable for their virtues and their abilities. In the annals of the primitive church of New France, their names are illustrious, and around their memory gathers

the aureole of sanctity. During six years, from 1615 to 1621, the spiritual direction of the colony was entrusted to six fathers and three friars. Father d'Olbeau remained in charge of the habitation of Quebec, and Father Le Caron resolved to proceed at once to the country of the Hurons.

On July 9th, 1615, Champlain, Étienne Brûle, an interpreter, a servant, and ten Indians, set out for the mouth of the Ottawa River. They rowed up the river as far as the Mattawan, which they followed westwards, and soon reached Lake Nipissing where they stopped for two days. This was on July 26th. After having taken this short rest, they continued their voyage, crossing Georgian Bay, and reached the land of the Hurons. Near the shore they met the Attignaouantans, or people of the bear tribe, one of the four chief branches of the great Huron family. Their village or *bourgade* was called Otouacha. On the second day of August, Champlain's party visited the village of Carmeron, and on the following day, they saw the encampments of Tonaguainchain, Tequenonquiayé and Carhagouha. In the latter encampment Father Le Caron resided.

On July 12th Father Le Caron celebrated mass and sang the *Te Deum*, after which the Indians planted a cross near the small chapel which had been erected under Champlain's direction. The reverend father occupied a hut within the palisade which formed the rampart of the village, and he

Champlain on the shores of Georgian Bay, 1615

From the painting by Hummé

spent the fall and winter with the Hurons of Carhagouha.

The Huron country was situated between the peninsula watered by Lake Simcoe on the eastern side, and by the Georgian Bay on the western side. It extended from north to south between the rivers Severn and Nottawasaga. This land is twenty-five leagues in length and seven or eight in width. The soil, though sandy, was fertile and produced in abundance corn, beans, pumpkins and the annual helianth or sun-flower, from which the Hurons extracted the oil. The neighbouring tribes, such as the Ottawas and the Algonquins, used to procure their provisions from the Hurons, as they were permanently cultivating their lands.

Champlain observed, in 1615, that there were eighteen *bourgades* or villages, of which he mentions five, namely: Carhagouha, Toanché, Carmeron, Tequenonquiayé and Cahiagué. Cahiagué was the most important, and had two hundred huts; it was also the chief *bourgade* of the tribe called de la Roche.

Four tribes of a common origin and a common language were living on the Huron peninsula. They were: (1.) The Attignaouantans, or Tribe de l'Ours; (2.) The Attignenonghacs, or Tribe de la Corde; (3.) The Arendarrhonons, or Tribe de la Roche; (4.) The Tohontahenrats. The general name given to these four tribes by the French was Ouendats.

The most numerous and the most respected of the tribes were the tribes de l'Ours and de la Corde,

which had taken possession of the country; the first about the year 1589, and the second twenty years after. The oldest men of these tribes related to the missionaries, in 1638, that their ancestors for the past two hundred years had been obliged to change their residence every ten years. These two tribes were very friendly, and in their councils treated each other like brothers. All their business was conducted through the medium of a captain of war and a captain of council.

These tribes became popular and increased their numbers by adopting members of other nations, so that in later years the Huron family became one of the most powerful and redoubtable in North America. The identity of language was a great factor in the accomplishment of this marvellous result. The Andastes, of Virginia, were therefore speaking the Huron language. The Tionnontatés became so identified with their neighbours that they were named the Hurons of the Petun. The savages of the Neutral Nation had also adopted the Huron idiom. This uniformity of language formed a league between these nations which would have been broken with the utmost difficulty.

Father de Brébeuf calculated that, in his time, there were scattered over the whole continent of North America about three hundred thousand Indians who understood the Huron dialect. This was exaggerated, for the aborigines covering the territory known to the Hurons from whom the father

had collected this information did not number three hundred thousand persons. How could he rely upon these people, to whom a thousand men represented simply an amazing number? How could the Hurons make a census of an unsedentary people, wandering here and there according to circumstances of war or other reasons, and recruiting themselves with prisoners or with the remnants of conquered nations?

To give only one example of these strange recruitings, let us examine the composition of the great family of the Iroquois in Champlain's time. It was a collection of disbanded tribes, who had belonged to the Hurons, to the Tionnontatés, to the Neutral, to the Eries and du Feu tribes. The Iroquois had separated themselves from the Hurons to form a branch which acquired with time more vivacity than the tree from which it had sprung. The Hurons were called the good Iroquois in order to distinguish them from the wicked Iroquois who were reputed to be barbarous. They fought against all the nations living in Canada, and their name was a subject of general apprehension.

Returning to the Hurons, we find that the Attignaouantans, or the tribe de l'Ours, was the most populous, forming half of the whole Huron family, namely about fifteen thousand souls. They were considered, erroneously, as the most perfidious of all. Father de Brébeuf, who knew them well, says that they were mild, charitable, polite and

courteous. Some years later, the tribe de l'Ours occupied fourteen villages, with thirteen missions under the charge of the Jesuits. The whole mission, called Immaculate Conception, had its principal seat at Ossossané, which had replaced Carhagouha, mentioned by Champlain. The French called it La Rochelle. Ossossané was the nearest village of the Iroquois territory. Father du Creux' map places it on the western coast of the Huron peninsula.

The Attignenonghacs, or tribe de la Corde, were the oldest and the most numerous, after the Attignaouantans. They praised their antiquity and their traditions which had existed for two hundred years, and which had been collected by word of mouth by the chiefs or captains. This evidence, more or less valuable, seems to indicate that they had preserved a family spirit, which is very laudable. The Attignenonghacs, however, had founded a nationality, and their language was so developed that, in 1635, Father de Brébeuf could recall to memory twelve nations who spoke it. This tribe had no special features except that they were very devoted to the French. The Jesuits opened in their midst two missions called St. Ignace and St. Joseph. Teanaustayaé was one of the most important villages of the Attignenonghacs. When the village of Ihonatiria ceased to exist, the Jesuits called it St. Joseph. Here perished, in 1648, Father Daniel, together with seven hundred Hurons.

Toanché was another village of the same tribe. It has often changed its name, and we may consider it as one of these flying *bourgades* so commonly found among the Hurons. Champlain had known the village of Toanché under the name of Otouacha. When Father de Brébeuf came here for the second time, in 1634, he was unable to recognize the village that he had visited for the first time in 1626. It had been transported about two miles from its former place. It was then situated at the western entrance of a bay now Penetanguishene, on a point in the northern part of Lake Huron, four leagues from Ossossané and seven from Teanaustayaé.

The Arendarrhonons, or tribe de la Roche, were settled on the eastern part of the peninsula. They were at first discovered by the French, and they had, according to the laws of the country, the privilege of fur trading. They were especially attached to Champlain, and twenty-two years after his death they had not forgotten his remarkable virtues and courage. The *bourgade* of Cahiagué, comprising two hundred and sixty huts and two thousand souls, was the chief place of the Arendarrhonons. It was situated near the lake Ouentaron, now lake Simcoe, at the northern extremity, near the small town of Orillia. The Jesuits established a mission here, and their principal residence was on the right shore of a small river called the Wye, near Penetanguishene. The remains of a fort built there in 1639 could be seen a few years ago.

Cahiagué was distant from Carhagouha fourteen leagues. It was situated near the village of Scanonahenrat, where the Tohontahenrats, the fourth Huron tribe, resided. They were less numerous than the others. Scanonahenrat was situated at about two leagues from Ihonatiria of the Attignenonghacs, and at three leagues from the Ataronchronons, another Huron group of small importance, where finally the Jesuits took up their residence. When these missions were flourishing, the Jesuits could enumerate twenty-five different places where they could pursue their calling with zeal. The Récollets had continued their course with vigorous activity; they had sown the divine seed, but they were not permitted to reap the reward of their labours, as the Jesuits did in the future.

Although the Hurons appeared to be happy, their mode of living was miserable. Their principal articles of food were Indian corn and common beans, which they prepared in various ways. Their clothing was made of the skins of wild animals. Deer skin was used for their trousers, which were cut loose, and their stockings were made of another piece of the same skin, while their boots were formed of the skin of bears, beavers and deer. They also wore a cloak in the Egyptian style, with sleeves which were attached by a string behind. Most of them painted their faces black and red, and dyed their hair, which some wore long, others short, and others again on one side only. The women and girls were

dressed like men, except that they had their robes, which extended to the knee, girt about them. They all dressed their hair in one uniform style, carefully combed, dyed and oiled. For ornaments they wore quantities of porcelain, chains and necklaces, besides bracelets and ear-rings.

These people were of a happy temperament generally, though some had a sad and gloomy countenance. Physically they were well proportioned. Some of the men and women had fine figures, strong and robust, and many of the women were powerful and of unusual height. The greater portion of the work fell to the lot of the women, who looked after the housework, tilled the land, laid up a store of wood for the winter, beat the hemp and spun it, and made fishing nets from the thread. They also gathered in the harvest and prepared it for food. The occupation of the men was hunting for deer, fishing, and building their cabins, varied at times by war. When they were free from these occupations, they visited other tribes with whom they were acquainted for the purpose of traffic or exchange, and their return was celebrated by dances and festivities.

They had a certain form of marriage which Champlain thus describes. When a girl had reached the age of eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen or fifteen years, she had suitors, more or less, according to her attractions, who wooed her for some time. The consent of the parents was then asked, to

whose wills the girl did not always submit, although the most discreet of them did so. The favoured lover or suitor then presented to the girl some necklaces, bracelets or chains of porcelain, which she accepted if the suitor was agreeable to her. The suitor then resided with her for three or four days, without saying anything to her in the meantime, but if they did not agree, the girl left her suitor, who forfeited his necklaces and the other presents which he had made, and each was free to seek another companion if so disposed. This term of probation was often extended to eight, or even to fifteen days.

The children enjoyed great freedom. The parents indulged them too much and never punished or corrected them. As a consequence they grew up bad and vicious. They would often strike their mothers, and when they were powerful enough they did not hesitate to strike their fathers.

The Hurons did not recognize any divine power or worship of God. They were without belief, and lived like brute beasts, with this exception, that they had a sort of fear of an evil spirit. They had *ogni* or *manitous*, who were medicine-men, and who healed the sick, bound up the wounded, foretold future events, and practised all the abuses and illusions of the black arts.

Champlain firmly believed that the conversion of the Hurons to Christianity would have been easier if the country had been inhabited by persons who

would devote their energies to instructing them. Father Le Caron and himself had often conversed with them regarding the Catholic faith, the laws and customs of the French, and they had listened attentively, sometimes saying:

"You say things that pass our knowledge, and which we cannot understand by words, being beyond our comprehension; but if you would do us a service, come and dwell in this country, bringing your wives and children, and when they are here, we shall see how you serve the God you worship, and how you live with your wives and children, how you cultivate and plant the soil, how you obey your laws, how you take care of animals, and how you manufacture all that we see proceeding from your inventive skill. When we see all this we shall learn more in a year than in twenty by simply hearing your discourse; and if we cannot understand, you shall take our children, who shall be as your own. And thus being convinced that our life is a miserable one in comparison with yours, it is easy to believe that we shall adopt yours, abandoning our own."

The following was their mode of government. The older and leading men assembled in a council, in which they settled upon and proposed all that was necessary for the affairs of the village. This was done by a plurality of voices, or in accordance with the advice of some one among them whose judgment they considered superior; such a one was

requested by the company to give his opinion on the propositions that had been made, and his opinion was minutely obeyed. They had no particular chief with absolute command, but they honoured the older and more courageous men, of which there were several in a village, whom they named captains, as a mark of distinction and respect.

They all deliberated in common, and whenever any member of the assembly offered to do anything for the welfare of the village, or to go anywhere for the service of the community, he was requested to present himself, and if he was judged capable of carrying out what he proposed, they exhorted him, by fair and favourable words, to do his duty. They declared him to be an energetic man, fit for the undertaking, and assured him that he would win honour in accomplishing his task. In a word, they encouraged him by flatteries, in order that this favourable disposition of his for the welfare of his fellow-citizens might continue and increase. Then, according to his pleasure, he accepted or refused the responsibility, and thereby he was held in high esteem.

They had, moreover, general assemblies with representatives from remote regions. These representatives came every year, one from each province, and met in a town designated as the rendezvous of the assembly. Here were celebrated great banquets and dances, for three weeks or a month, according as they might determine. On these occasions they

renewed their friendship, resolved upon and decreed what they thought best for the preservation of their country against their enemies, and made each other handsome presents, after which they retired to their own districts.

In burying the dead, the Hurons took the body of the deceased, wrapped it in furs, and covered it very carefully with the bark of trees. Then they placed it in a cabin, of the length of the body, made of bark and erected upon four posts. Others they placed in the ground, propping up the earth on all sides that it might not fall on the body, which they covered with the bark of trees, putting earth on top. Over this trench they also made a little cabin. The bodies remained thus buried for a period of eight or ten years. Then they held a general council, to which all the people of the country were invited, for the purpose of determining upon some place for the holding of a great festival. After this they returned each to his own village, where they took all the bones of the deceased, stripped them and made them quite clean. These they kept very carefully, although the odour arising therefrom was noxious. Then all the relatives and friends of the deceased took these bones, together with their necklaces, furs, axes, kettles, and other things highly valued, and carried them, with a quantity of edibles, to the place assigned. Here, when all had assembled, they put the edibles in a place designated by the men of the village, and engaged in banquets and

continual dancing. The festival lasted for the space of ten days, during which other tribes from all quarters came to witness the ceremonies. The latter were attended with great outlays.

These details on the manners and customs of the Hurons are quoted nearly *verbatim* from Champlain's Relations, so they must be considered as accurate.[1]

[1] This volume contains the following title: *Voyages et Découvertures faites en la Nouvelle France depuis l'année 1615, jusques à la fin de l'année 1618. Par le Sieur de Champlain, Capitaine ordinaire pour le Roy en la Mer du Ponant. Seconde Edition, MDCXIX.* This original edition bears the date of 1619, and the second edition is dated 1627.

## CHAPTER VI

### WAR AGAINST THE IROQUOIS, 1615

CHAMPLAIN had promised for some years to assist the Hurons in their wars against the Iroquois, and he found that the present time was opportune for him to fulfil his pledge. He had visited every Huron tribe, and he was aware that a general rendezvous had been fixed at Cahiagué. On August 14th, 1615, ten Frenchmen, under the command of Champlain, started from Carhagouha. On their way they stopped at the villages of the Tohontahenrats and Attignenonghacs, and found the country well watered and cultivated, and the villages populous. The people, however, were ignorant, avaricious and untruthful, and had no idea either of a divinity or of a religion.

On August 17th, Champlain came in sight of Cahiagué, where the Hurons had gathered, and after some hesitation, they decided to go to war. The departure was delayed until September 1st, pending the arrival of some of their warriors and the Andastes, who had promised five hundred men. On their journey they passed by Lake Couchiching and Lake Ouantaron or Simcoe. From there they decided to proceed by way of Sturgeon Lake, after travelling by land for a distance of ten leagues.

From Sturgeon Lake flows the river Otonabi, which discharges into Rice Lake.

They followed the river Trent to the Bay of Quinté in Lake Ontario or Entouaronons. "Here," says Champlain, "is the entrance of the grand river of St. Lawrence." They leisurely crossed Lake Ontario, and, having hidden their canoes, penetrated the woods and crossed the river Chouagen or Oswego, which flows from Lake Oneida where the Iroquois used to fish.

On October 7th the Hurons had approached within four leagues of the fortifications of their enemies, and on that day eleven Iroquois fell into the hands of Champlain's men, and were made prisoners. Iroquet, the chief of the Petite Nation, prepared to torture the prisoners, among whom were four women and four children, but Champlain strongly opposed this course. The Iroquois were engaged in reaping their corn when the Hurons and their allies appeared before them on October 10th, or five weeks after Champlain had started from Cahiagué. During this period Champlain's army had undergone much fatigue, and it was desirable to take some rest.

The first day was spent in petty skirmishes. Instead of fighting in ranks, the Hurons disbanded, and were consequently liable to be seized by the vigilance of their enemies. Champlain recognized the danger of this method of warfare, and persuaded his companions to preserve their ranks. The last

combat continued for about three hours, during which Ochateguin and Orani, two of the allied chiefs, were wounded. Champlain also received two arrow wounds, one in the leg and one in the knee. There was great disorder in the ranks of the Hurons, and the chiefs had no control over their men. The result, on the whole, was not in favour of Champlain's allies, who in the absence of the Andastes were not anxious to continue the attacks against the Iroquois, and consequently determined to retreat as soon as possible.

Champlain suffered much from his wounds. "I never found myself in such a gehenna," he says, "as during this time, for the pain which I suffered in consequence of the wound in my knee was nothing in comparison with that which I endured while I was carried, bound and pinioned, on the back of one of the savages."

The retreat was very long, and on October 18th they arrived at the shore of Lake Ontario. Here Champlain requested that he might have a canoe and guides to conduct him to Quebec, and this was one of the conditions to which they had agreed before he set out for the war. The Indians were not to be trusted, however, and they refused his request. Champlain, therefore, resolved to accept the hospitality of Darontal, chief of the Arendarrhonons, or tribe de la Roche. The chief appeared kindly disposed towards Champlain, and as it was the hunting season, he accompanied him on his excur-

sions. During one of these expeditions, Champlain lost his way in the pursuit of a strange bird, and he was not found by the savages until three days afterwards. The return journey to Cahiagué on foot was painful, and during the nineteen days thus spent, much hardship was undergone. The party arrived at Cahiagué on December 23rd, 1615.

In the course of the winter, Champlain was chosen to act as judge of a quarrel between the Algonquins of the Petite Nation, and the Hurons of the tribe de l'Ours, which had arisen over the murder of one of the Iroquois. The Attignaouantans had committed an Iroquois prisoner to the custody of Iroquet, requesting him to burn him according to their custom. Instead of carrying out this act, Iroquet had taken the young man and treated him as a son. When the Attignaouantans were aware of this, they sent one of their number to murder the young Iroquois. This barbarous conduct made the Algonquins indignant, and they killed the murderer.

Champlain returned from the Petuneux in company with Father Le Caron at the time when these crimes had just been committed. Witnesses were summoned to meet Champlain at Cahiagué, and were each examined. The trial lasted two days, during which the old men of both nations were consulted, and the majority of them were favourable to a reconciliation without conditions. Champlain exacted from them a promise that they would ac-

cept his decision as final, and he then had a full meeting of the two tribes assembled there. Addressing them, he said:

"You Algonquins, and you Hurons, have always been friends. You have lived like brothers; you take this name in your councils. Your conduct now is unworthy of reasonable men. You are enough occupied in repelling your enemies, who have pursued you, who rout you as often as possible, pursuing you to your villages and taking you prisoners. These enemies, seeing these divisions and wars among you, will be delighted and derive great advantage therefrom. On account of the death of one man you will hazard the lives of ten thousand, and run the risk of being reduced to perpetual slavery. Although in fact one man was of great value, you ought to consider how he has been killed; it was not with deliberate purpose, nor for the sake of inciting a civil war. The Algonquins much regret all that has taken place, and if they had supposed such a thing would have happened, they would have sacrificed this Iroquois for the satisfaction of the Hurons. Forget all, never think of it again, but live good friends as before. In case you should not be pleased with my advice, I request you to come in as large numbers as possible, to our settlement, so that there, in presence of all the captains of vessels, the friendship might be ratified anew, and measures taken to secure you from your enemies."

Champlain's advice was followed, and the savages went away satisfied, except the Algonquins, who broke up and proceeded to their villages, saying that the death of these two men had cost them too dearly.

Champlain having spent the winter with Darontal, on May 20th left for Quebec. The journey from Cahiagué to Sault St. Louis occupied forty days. Champlain here found that Pont-Gravé had arrived from France with two vessels, and that the reverend fathers were very pleased to see him again. Darontal accompanied Champlain to Quebec, and greatly admired the habitation and the mode of living adopted by the French. Before leaving for France, Champlain enlarged the habitation by at least one-third, the additions consisting of buildings and fortifications, in the construction of which he used lime and sand which were found near at hand. Some grain was also cut, and the gardens were left in good condition.

During the winter of 1615-16, Father Le Caron had received a visit from Champlain, who was then returning from an expedition against the Iroquois. Being at a loss to know how to employ their time, Champlain and the Récollets resolved to pay a visit to the Tionnontatés, or people of the Petun. The missionary was not well received by these people, although Champlain was able to make an alliance, not only with the Petuneux, but also with six or seven other tribes living in the vicinity.

Father Le Caron returned to his flock, the Hurons, and remained with them until May 20th, studying their manners, trying to acquire their language, and to improve their morals. Father Le Clercq says that he compiled a dictionary which was seen in his own time, and which was preserved as a relic.

When the Hurons left their country to engage in fur trading with the French at Sault St. Louis, Father Le Caron took passage in one of their canoes, and arrived at Three Rivers on July 1st, 1616. Here he met Father d'Olbeau, who had spent the winter with the Indians on the north shore of the river St. Lawrence, between Tadousac and the Seven Islands.

Father d'Olbeau had visited the Bersiamites, the Papinachois and others, and he planted crosses everywhere, so that many years after, when some Frenchmen were visiting the place, they found these evidences of his labours. After two months of fatigue, Father d'Olbeau was compelled to return to Quebec, as he was suffering from sore eyes, and was unable to unclose his eyelids for several weeks. The two fathers arrived at Quebec on July 11th, 1616, and Father Jamet was pleased to learn the result of the missions of his confrères. The three missionaries had carefully studied the country during the past year, and gained a fair knowledge of the people. They realized at this time that their own resources limited their power of doing good,

and they therefore requested Champlain to convoke a meeting of six inhabitants, to discuss the best means of furthering the interests of the mission. Champlain was chosen president of the meeting, and although the missionaries were present they took no part in the deliberations.

The resolutions adopted at this first council meeting in the new settlement were preserved. It was decided that the nations down the river and those of the north were, for the present, at least, incapable of civilization. These tribes included the Montagnais, Etchemins, Bersiamites, Papinachois and the great and little Esquimaux. They dwelt in an uncultivated, barren and mountainous country, whose wild game and fur-bearing animals sufficed to support them. Their habits were nomadic, and excessive superstition was their only form of religion. By the report of those who had visited the southern coasts, and had even penetrated by land to Cadie, Cape Breton and Chaleurs Bay, Ile Percé and Gaspé, the country there was more temperate, and susceptible of cultivation. There would be found dispositions less estranged from Christianity, as the people had more shame, docility and humanity than the others.

With regard to the upper river and the territory of the numerous tribes of Indians visited by Monsieur de Champlain and Father Joseph themselves, or by others, besides possessing an abundance of game, which might attract the French there in hopes of trade, the land was much more fertile and

the climate more congenial than in the Indian country down the river. The upper river Indians, such as the Algonquins, Iroquois, Hurons, Nipissirini, Neuters, Fire Nation, were sedentary, generally docile, susceptible of instruction, charitable, strong, robust, patient; insensible, however, and indifferent to all that concerns salvation; lascivious, and so material that when told that their soul was immortal, they would ask what they would eat after death in the next world. In general, none of the savages whom they had known had any idea of a divinity, believing, nevertheless, in another world where they hoped to enjoy the same pleasures as they took here below—a people, in short, without subordination, law or form of government or system, gross in religious matters, shrewd and crafty for trade and profit, but superstitious to excess.

It was the opinion of the council that none could ever succeed in converting them, unless they made them men before they made them Christians. To civilize them it was necessary first that the French should mingle with them and habituate them to their presence and mode of life, which could be done only by the increase of the colony, the greatest obstacle to which was on the part of the gentlemen of the company, who, to monopolize trade, did not wish the country to be settled, and did not even wish to make the Indians sedentary, which was the only condition favourable to the salvation of these heathen.

The Protestants, or Huguenots, having the best share in the trade, it was to be feared that the contempt they showed for the Catholic mysteries would greatly retard the establishment of that faith. Even the bad example of the French might be prejudicial, if those who had authority in the country did not establish order.

The mission among such numerous nations would be painful and laborious, and so could advance but little unless they obtained from the gentlemen of the company a greater number of missionaries free of expense. Even then it would require many years and great labour to humanize these utterly gross and barbarous nations, and even when this end was partially attained, the sacrament, for fear of profanation, could be administered only to an exceptional few among the adults.

It finally appears to have been decided that they could not make progress unless the colony was increased by a greater number of settlers, mechanics and farmers; that free trade with the Indians should be permitted, without distinction, to all Frenchmen; that in future Huguenots should be excluded, and that it was necessary to render the Indians sedentary, and bring them up to a knowledge of French manners and laws.

The council further agreed that by the help of zealous persons in France, a seminary ought to be established in order to bring to Christianity, young Indians, who might afterwards aid the mis-

sionaries in converting their countrymen. It was deemed necessary to maintain the missions which the fathers had established both up and down the river. This could not be done unless the associated gentlemen showed all the ardour to be expected from their zeal when informed of all things faithfully, instead of being deluded by the reports of the clerks whom they had sent the year before; the governor and the fathers having no ground to be satisfied therewith.

Champlain, who intended to return to France, desired the father commissary and Father Le Caron to accompany him, in order that the resolutions of the council might be submitted to the king for his approval, and with a view of obtaining substantial assistance. The voyage was a pleasant one, and Champlain and his party arrived at Honfleur on September 10th, 1616.

The merchants whom they interviewed at Paris were ready to promise to support the mission, but nothing was realized from their promises, and it soon became apparent that they cared more about the fur trade than about religion. Champlain saw many people who he believed could assist the settlement, but the winter was passed in useless negotiations. He therefore prepared a greater shipment than usual from his own resources, and he was fortunate in finding that his old friend, Louis Hébert, an apothecary of Port Royal, was willing to accompany him. Hébert took his family with

him, composed of three children and his wife, named Marie Rollet. Hébert afterwards rendered very valuable assistance to the founder of Quebec.

Father Jamet did not return to Quebec, and he was therefore replaced as commissary by Father Le Caron, who appointed Father Huet as his assistant. The vessel conveying the party sailed from Honfleur on April 11th, 1617, under the command of Captain Morel. The passage was very rough, and when within sixty leagues of the Great Bank of Newfoundland, numerous icebergs bore down on the ship like huge mountains. Father Le Clercq says that in the general consternation Father Joseph, seeing that all human succour could not deliver them from shipwreck, earnestly implored the aid of heaven in the vows and prayers which he made publicly on the vessel. He confessed all, and prepared himself to appear before God. All were touched with compassion and deeply moved when Dame Hébert raised her youngest child through the hatchway to let it share with the rest the good father's blessing. They escaped only by a miracle, as they acknowledged in their letters to France.

The ship arrived at Tadousac on July 14th, and mass was said in a little chapel which Father Huet had constructed with poles and branches, and a sailor stood on either side of the altar with fir branches to drive away the cloud of mosquitoes which caused great annoyance to the celebrant. The mass was very solemn. Besides the French,

there were many Indians present who assisted with devotion amid the roar of the cannon of the ship, and the muskets of the French. After the service a dinner was given by Champlain on board the vessel. On the arrival of the party at Quebec some days after, they found that the inhabitants were nearly starving, and that Father d'Olbeau was anxiously awaiting the news from France.

Both Champlain and Father Le Caron were obliged to confess that their mission had been unsuccessful. What, therefore, was to be done? To return to Old France would have been contrary to the intentions of the Récollets. They had been sent to Canada by their superiors, and they had no order to act contrary to their instructions. After having studied the situation they resolved that Father d'Olbeau should visit France, see the king in person, and place before him the settlers' condition and their own. During his absence Father Huet undertook the charge of the mission at Tadousac, and Brother Pacifique du Plessis was appointed to teach catechism to the Indians of Three Rivers.

It was at about this time that Father Le Caron performed the first marriage ceremony in Canada, the contracting parties being Étienne Jonquest of Normandy, and Anne Hébert, eldest daughter of Louis Hébert.

The condition of the Récollets at this time was unenviable. The agents of the merchants were not better disposed towards them than the interpreters.

Some of these agents were demoralized, and the reproach that they received from the fathers caused them to avoid their presence. The conduct of some of these agents was so bad that even the Indians, who were not strict in their morals, were scandalized. When we take into consideration these circumstances, and the meagreness of the resources of the order, and the difficulties they had in acquiring the language, we can form a faint idea of the hardness of their lot, and it was not without just cause that they decided to send Father d'Olbeau to France with Champlain, in order that the true state of affairs might be urged still further before the king.

Father Le Clercq says: "Meanwhile Monsieur de Champlain employed all his address and prudence, and the intrigues of his friends to obtain what was necessary for the establishment of his new colony. Father d'Olbeau, on his side, spared nothing; both spoke frequently to the members of the company, but in vain, for these people, who always had their ears open to flattering tales of the great profit to be made in the Indian trade, closed them to the requests and entreaties made them. They therefore contented themselves with what they could get."

Father d'Olbeau at length received some consolation and compensation for all his labours, when a bull was issued by the pope, granting a jubilee to New France, which was celebrated at Quebec on July 29th, 1618, and was the first of its kind. For the celebration of this religious festival, the Récollets

had built some huts, which were used as stations, and French and Indians proceeded from one of those improvised chapels to the other, singing the psalms and hymns of the church. In the year 1618, the Récollets in New France were only three in number: Fathers Le Caron and d'Olbeau, and Friar Modeste Guines.

During the winter of 1617-18 the missionaries were called upon to decide a difficult question. Two Frenchmen had disappeared in 1616, and the discovery of their bones proved that they had been murdered. A diligent search was instituted which led to the detection of the murderer, who acknowledged his crime. The question of punishment, however, was difficult from the fact that a clerk named Beauchesne, who had been invested with extensive civil power by Champlain, was in the habit of receiving gifts from the Indians. It was consequently considered dangerous to do anything that would displease the Indians, as they were known to be terrible in their vengeance. The Récollets had strongly protested against this method of receiving gifts, which placed the settlement in a false position towards the Indians. It was finally decided to release the prisoner and to accept as hostages two young Indians. When the matter was brought before Champlain, he approved of the course adopted, and stated that it was not a wise policy to be too severe.

This affair, which at one time appeared likely to

produce disagreeable consequences, passed over without event, and some time after a party of Indians visited Quebec for the purpose of effecting a complete reconciliation. Thus, when Champlain left for France in 1618, the colony was secure.

Father Huet, who accompanied Champlain, was charged with many important missions, one of which related to the administration of baptism to the Indians. They were quite willing to be baptized, but they had no idea of the nature of the sacrament, and although they promised to keep their vows before the ceremony, they soon returned to their old superstitions. Their want of sincerity was a trial to Father Huet, and he desired to have the opinion of the Doctors of the Sorbonne to guide him in his future actions.

During the winter Father Le Caron went to Tadousac in order to continue the work of Father d'Olbeau, and he remained there until the middle of July, 1619. In the interval he had built a residence upon the ground donated by the merchants, and had the satisfaction of leaving one hundred and forty neophytes as the result of the labours of the mission. Father d'Olbeau had his residence at Quebec.

On his return to Canada Father Huet was accompanied by Father Guillaume Poullain, three friars and two labourers. Champlain did not return this year. The Récollets had received authority to build a convent at Quebec, and the Prince de

Condé had contributed fifteen hundred livres towards the object. Charles de Boues, vicar-general of Pontoise, had also made a personal subscription, and accepted the protectorate of the convent, together with the title of syndic of Canadian missions. Other piously disposed persons had also contributed towards the maintenance of the religious institution.

The establishment of a convent in Canada was a ray of light amid the gloom which had hung over the settlement of New France during the past four years, but the rejoicing on this occasion was soon turned into mourning by the unexpected death of Friar du Plessis, who died at Three Rivers on August 23rd, 1619. There were two other deaths during this year which cast a shadow on the colony, that of Anne Hébert, and of her husband, Étienne Jonquest, who survived his wife only a few weeks.

The mission at Three Rivers was placed under the charge of Father Le Caron, and from this date it was the object of the most pastoral solicitude of the Récollets.

## CHAPTER VII

### FUR TRADE

THE earliest reference by Champlain to the fur trade in Canada, is contained in his relation of his voyage to Tadousac in the year 1603. During this journey he encountered a number of Indians in a canoe, near Hare Island, among whom was an Algonquin who appeared to be well versed in the geography of the country watered by the Great Lakes. As a proof of his knowledge, he gave to Champlain a description of the rapids of the St. Lawrence, of Niagara Falls and Lake Ontario. When questioned as to the natural resources of the country, he stated that he was acquainted with a people called the good Iroquois (Hurons) who were accustomed to exchange their peltry for the goods which the French had given to the Algonquins. We have in this statement proof that the French were known to the inhabitants of New France before the year 1603.

In the year 1608, trading was conducted with the Indians at Tadousac, but in 1610 it was alternately at Tadousac, and near Cape de la Victoire at the entrance of the Richelieu River. During the latter period, the fur trade was a failure, although the vessels annually carried from twelve to fifteen

thousand skins to France, which were sold at one pistole each. From the year 1610, Tadousac ceased to be the rendezvous of traders, and the great centre was at Sault St. Louis, until the year 1618. From this time, for several consecutive years, Three Rivers was the principal trading-post, and finally the Indians went down to Quebec, or to Cape de la Victoire, or du Massacre, and at a still later period the Isle of Richelieu, opposite the parish of Deschambault, some fifteen leagues above Quebec, was chosen as a trading-place.

Champlain was not opposed to the fur trade; on the contrary, he favoured it, provided that it was conducted honestly, as it afforded him opportunities for making new discoveries, and also for maintaining friendly relationship with the Indians. The Récollets had no connection with the trade, although through their efforts commercial intercourse was often facilitated.

Speaking of the trading of 1618, Champlain mentions a class of men who eventually attained considerable influence in colonial affairs. These men were the factors or clerks employed and paid by the merchants. Some of them obtained notoriety on account of their treason and bad conduct, while others were distinguished by their devotedness to Champlain and the missionaries. The clerks or factors were engaged by the fur trading merchants who had their principal factory at Quebec. The staff consisted of a chief clerk, of clerks and underclerks;

and their functions were to receive merchandise on its arrival, to place it in the store, and when the trading was complete, to exchange the goods for skins, which were then carefully packed for exportation. The clerks visited the places chosen by the Indians for trading, and generally conducted the exchanges themselves. Some of them employed the services of interpreters who were readily found, and were frequently sent among the natives to induce them to visit the clerks. The duties of the clerks were not always easily performed. They had many difficulties to encounter, but as successful trading might lead to future promotion, there were advantages connected with the office. Thierry-Desdames, one of the underclerks at Quebec in 1622, was appointed captain of the Island of Miscou, in recognition of his faithful service. This is not the only instance of promotion recorded by Champlain. Beauchesne and Loquin are also mentioned in the Relations of 1618 and 1619.

When Champlain returned from France in 1620, he was accompanied by Jean Baptiste Guers, the business representative of the Duke of Montmorency, who rendered good service to Champlain and the settlers. In the same year Pont-Gravé traded at Three Rivers, and he was assisted by two clerks called Loquin and Caumont, and an underclerk, Rouvier. Before leaving for France, Pont-Gravé placed Caumont in charge of his factory. Rouvier also left for France, under the pretext that the

company refused to increase his wages. The departure of a clerk, however, was of small importance, when we consider the trouble which had arisen among the associates.

In the year 1612, Champlain, it appears, had placed too much confidence in the influence of Henri de Condé, viceroy of New France. This nobleman proved to be a source of trouble rather than a friend to the new colony. Two years after, Champlain formed an association of the merchants of St. Malo and Rouen, who invested a large capital for the development of trade in Quebec. The chief members of the company were François Porrée, Lucas Legendre, Louis Vermeulle, Mathieu d'Insterlo, Pierre Eon, Thomas Cochon, Pierre Trublet, Vincent Gravé, Daniel Boyer and Corneille de Bellois. By its constitution the operations of the company were to extend over a period of eleven years, and its members engaged to maintain the habitation of Quebec, and a fort, and to build new forts if necessary, and also to pay the expenses of missionaries, and to send labourers and workmen to Canada. The Prince de Condé received a salary of three thousand livres, and the payment of this large amount annually to the viceroy, caused the merchants to neglect their obligations towards Champlain.

In the meantime Condé conspired against the Queen Regent and was incarcerated, and the Maréchal de Thémines was temporarily appointed in his

place. The office of secretary to the viceroy would appear to have been lucrative, for one applicant, probably Boyer, offered Thémines four thousand five hundred livres, if he would appoint him to the position. Condé protested against the charge which had been made against his agreement, and asked for his salary. De Villemenon, intendant of the admiralty, opposed the application, and claimed the amount of the salary for the Quebec settlement.

While Champlain was present in France in 1617 he received a proscription from the court of parliament, ordering him to resign his office of lieutenant of the viceroy, as the Company of Rouen had decided to suppress the salary of the viceroy. Champlain did not take any notice of this injunction, but started for Quebec. On his return to France during the same year (1617) Champlain met the Maréchal de Thémines, in order to induce him, in his capacity of viceroy, to take some interest in the affairs of New France, as the situation there was becoming insupportable. The great personages were quarrelling over money matters; the people of St. Malo were renewing their demands for liberty of commerce, and the merchants were refusing to invest new capital. Champlain had a series of difficulties, which he endeavoured to remove before his return to Quebec, and he drew up his grievances in two large factums, one of which was presented to the king, and the other to the Board of Trade of Paris.

In the factum to the king Champlain explained that France would derive benefit from the colonization of Canada, provided workmen and labourers were sent to the country. He also set forth the necessity of improving the defense of the colony, as an attack might be expected at any time from the English or Dutch. Champlain pointed out to the king, at the same time, that by developing New France, he would be propagating the Catholic faith amongst infidels, and that he would add to his wealth by reason of the revenue to be derived from the vast forests of Canada. He also made known to the king some of the projects which he had in view. Amongst these were certain buildings and works which he proposed to carry out. Quebec was to be named *Ludovica*, in honour of the king. A church was to be erected and dedicated under the title of *Redeemer*, and a fort was to be constructed on the cape of Quebec, flanked with four bastions, which would command the river St. Lawrence. A second fort was to be built opposite Quebec, which would complete the defense of the face of the town, and a third fort would be constructed at Tadousac on a promontory naturally fortified, to be manned by a garrison which would be relieved every six months.

These arrangements would provide for the defense of the country. Champlain also intended to look after the education and the spiritual wants of the settlement, by sending fifteen friars of the

Récollet order to New France, who were to found a convent near the Church of the Redeemer. The king was also asked to send one hundred families to the colony, each composed of a husband and wife and two children or a servant under twenty years of age. With these provisions Champlain believed that a settlement might be established in the name of France, which would remain loyal to her interests, since it would rest upon the sure foundation of strength, justice, commerce, and agriculture.

In his explanations to the Board of Trade Champlain dwelt upon the advantages which were to to be derived from fishing, from the lumber industry, agriculture and cattle raising, and from the working of the mines and from trading. In short he endeavoured to induce the associates to continue their operations. The members, however, were under the impression that colonization would place obstacles in the way of commerce, and that the inhabitants would soon monopolize the trade. Some of the associates who were Protestants objected to colonization under Catholic influence, and understanding that Champlain was a staunch Catholic, they decided to have Pont-Gravé appointed as lieutenant of the viceroy, in his place.

Champlain was much affected on finding that he had a rival in Pont-Gravé whom he had always respected as a father, neither would he accept such a humiliating position. The king, however,

intervened at this time, and wrote a letter to the associates, requesting them to aid Champlain.

"BY THE KING.

"DEAR AND WELL-BELOVED:—On the report made to us that there has hitherto been bad management in the establishment of the families and workmen sent to the settlement of Quebec, and other places of New France, we write to you this letter, to declare to you our desire that all things should proceed better in future; and to tell you that it will give us pleasure that you should assist, as much as you conveniently can, the Sieur Champlain in the things requisite and necessary for the execution of the commands which he has received from us, to choose experienced and trusty men to be employed in the discovery, inhabiting, cultivating, and sowing the lands; and do all the works which he shall judge necessary for the establishment of the colonies which we desire to plant in the said country, for the good of the service and the use of our subjects; without, however, on account of the said discoveries and settlements, your factors, clerks, and agents in the traffic of peltry, being troubled or hindered in any way whatever during the term which we have granted you. And fail not in this, for such is our pleasure. Given at Paris March 12th, 1618. (Signed) "LOUIS."

(And below) "POTIER."

The merchants brought their affairs before the

notice of the Council of Tours, who decided that Champlain should retain his position. The action of the council was a victory for Champlain, but it was soon followed by another still more agreeable. The associates promised to provide for the organization of emigration during the following year on a scale which would assure the success of the settlement. By this arrangement eighty persons, including three Récollet fathers would arrive in New France during the year 1619. In order to have the proceedings regularly conducted, Champlain caused papers to be prepared by notaries, which were signed on December 21st, 1618, by Pierre du Gua and Lucas Legendre in the name of the associates, and also by Vermeulle, Corneille de Bellois and Mathieu d'Insterlo. The document is as follows:

"List of persons to be sent to, and supported at, the settlement of Quebec for the year 1619.

"There shall be eighty persons, including the chief, three Récollet fathers, clerks, officers, workmen and labourers. Every two persons shall have a mattress, a paillasse, two blankets, three pairs of new sheets, two coats each, six shirts, four pairs of shoes, and one capote.

"For the arms:—Forty musquets, with their bandaliers, twenty-four pikes, four arquebuses à rouet [wheel-lock] of four to five feet, one thousand pounds of fine powder, one thousand pounds of powder for common, six thousand pounds of lead, and a match-stump.

"For the men:—A dozen scythes with their handles, hammers, and other tools; twelve reaping-hooks, twenty-four spades, twelve picks, four thousand pounds of iron, two barrels of steel, ten tons of lime [none having been then found in this country], ten thousand curved, or twenty thousand flat tiles, ten thousand bricks to build an oven and chimneys, two mill-stones [the kind of stone fit for that purpose was not discovered till some years afterwards.]

"For the service of the table of the chief:—Thirty-six dishes, as many bowls and plates, six saltcellars, six ewers, two basins, six pots of six pints each, six pints, six chopines [about half a pint] six demy-septiers, the whole of pewter, two dozen table-cloths, twenty-four dozen napkins.

"For the kitchen:—A dozen of copper boilers, six pairs andirons, six frying-pans, six gridirons.

"Shall also be taken out:—Two bulls of one year old, heifers, and as many sheep as convenient; all kinds of seeds for sowing.

"The commander of the settlement shall have charge of the arms and ammunition which are actually there, and of those which shall afterwards be sent, so long as he shall be in command; and the clerk or factor who shall reside there shall take charge of all merchandise; as well as of the furniture and utensils of the company, and shall send a regular account of them, signed by him, by the ships.

"Also shall be sent, a dozen mattresses complete,

like those of families, which shall be kept in the magazine for the use of the sick and wounded, etc., etc.

"Signed at Paris December 21st, 1618, and compared with the original [on paper] by the undersigned."

Champlain submitted this document to the king, who approved it, but nevertheless the associates were afterwards unwilling to fulfil its conditions. The Prince de Condé having been discharged from prison on October 20th, 1619, the king forwarded to him his commission of viceroy, and the Company of Rouen granted him a thousand écus.

The prince gave five hundred écus to the Récollets for the construction of a seminary at Quebec, and this was his only gift to the settlement of New France. The prince afterwards sold his commission as viceroy to the Duke of Montmorency, Admiral of France, for the sum of thirty thousand écus. Dolu, grand almoner of the kingdom, was appointed intendant. The duke renewed Champlain's commission as lieutenant of the viceroy, and at the same time advised him to return to Quebec to strengthen his positions everywhere, in order that the country might be secure against invasion.

The patronage of Montmorency greatly encouraged Champlain, for the duke exercised great power. He therefore resolved to take his young wife to Quebec with him, for she had never been to

Canada. Champlain concluded his private business in France, and took all his effects to the new settlement, as he had determined to take up his residence there. Before leaving France, all the difficulties in connection with his command were removed, and the king wrote him a very gracious letter, in which His Majesty expressed his esteem for his loyal and faithful subject.

The new administration of the Duke of Montmorency created dissatisfaction amongst the merchants of the society, which in fact had only changed its name of the "Company of Rouen" to the "Company of Montmorency or of de Caën." The associates forming the old company had hoped that Champlain would have been placed in the shade, especially when they learned that he intended to fortify Quebec and settle in the country. No action, however, was taken until the new company had commenced its administration. Champlain remained in ignorance of these facts until the arrival of the vessels in the spring of 1621, when he received letters from M. de Puiseux, *secrétaire des commandements du roi*, from the intendant Dolu, from de Villemenon, intendant of the admiralty, from Guillaume de Caën, one of the members of the new association, and from the viceroy, which last is here given:—

"Monsieur Champlain: For many reasons I have thought fit to exclude the former Company of Rouen and St. Malo from the trade with New

France, and to assist you and provide you with everything necessary, I have chosen the Sieurs de Caën, uncle and nephew, and their associates: one is a good merchant, and the other a good naval captain, who can aid you well, and make the authority of the king respected in my government. I recommend you to assist him and those who shall apply to you on his part, so as to maintain them in the enjoyment of the articles which I have granted them. I have charged the Sieur Dolu, intendant of the affairs of the country, to send you a copy of the treaty by the first voyage, so that you may know to what they are bound, in order that they may execute their engagement, as, on my part, I desire to perform what I have promised.

"I have taken care to preserve your appointments, as I believe you will continue to serve the king well.

"Your most affectionate and perfect friend,

"MONTMORENCY.

"From Paris, February 2nd, 1621."

The letter of Louis XIII was also satisfactory:

"CHAMPLAIN: I have perceived by your letters of August 15th, with what affection you work at your establishment, and for all that regards the good of my service: for which, as I am thankful to you, so I shall have pleasure in recognizing it to your advantage whenever the occasion shall offer: and I have willingly granted some munitions of war, which were required to give you better means

to subsist and to continue in that good duty, which I promise myself from your care and fidelity."

"Paris, February 24th, 1621. LOUIS."

It was in this manner that the sentence of death was given to the old company.

Several members of the old Company of Rouen and St. Malo were incorporated in the Company of Montmorency, which was composed of Guillaume de Caën, Ezechiel de Caën, Guillaume Robin, three merchants of Rouen; François de Troyes, president of the treasury of France at Orleans; Jacques de Troyes, merchant; Claude Le Ragois, general receiver of finance at Limoges; Arnould de Nouveau, Pierre de Verton, councillor, and secretary of the king, and François Hervé, merchant of Paris. The two brothers de Caën belonged to the reformed religion.

Dolu advised Champlain to restrain the hands of the clerks of the old company, and to seize all the merchandise in the magazine. He claimed that although this measure was rigorous, it was justified by the fact that the company had not fulfilled its obligations towards the settlement of New France. De Villemenon's letter was dictated in much the same terms. Guillaume de Caën gave notice that he would soon arrive in Quebec with arms and stores for the settlement. Dolu's letter regarding the seizure of merchandise was couched in terms that might be considered imperative, nevertheless Champlain deemed it prudent to act with caution, and he

therefore had conferred with Father George Le Baillif and Captain Dumay[1] on the subject.

The elder clerk had some clerks under him at Quebec, who after hearing of the contents of Dolu's letter, were prepared to resist any curtailment of their rights. Champlain appeased them, and assured them that they would be allowed freedom of trading at least until the arrival of Guillaume de Caën, the extent of whose authority was not yet known.

Caumont, the chief clerk, declared that he was satisfied with this arrangement, but nevertheless the situation was difficult. If the king had given the order to confiscate the merchandise, then Dumay, whose visit to Canada was for the purpose of fur trading, would become the king of commerce in New France, and therefore he had nothing to lose in awaiting de Caën's arrival. He proceeded at once to Tadousac, but instead of meeting de Caën, he found that Pont-Gravé had arrived as the representative of the old company, and that he had with him seventy-five men and some clerks.

Champlain was much distressed on receiving these tidings, for he foresaw a conflict which would possibly entail bloodshed. The clerks also were despondent. In order to avoid a quarrel, Champlain deemed it advisable to protect his men, and he there-

[1] His correct name was Dumé dit Leroy. He made a single voyage to Quebec, and he had on board Jean Baptiste Guers, delegate of the Duke of Montmorency. Dumé was born at St. Gomer de Fly, Beauvais. A member of his family who resided at Havre de Grâce, was one of the chief consignees of the company of St. Christophe in the West Indies.

fore installed his brother-in-law, Eustache Boullé, and Captain Dumay with sixteen men, in the small fort which he had erected at Cape Diamond during the preceding year. Champlain defended himself within the habitation, where he quartered all the men he could dispose of. If the clerks were inclined to fight he would defend his position, but he hoped that these precautionary measures would prove the means of preventing bloodshed.

On May 7th, 1621, three of the clerks of Guillaume de Caën left Tadousac and took up their quarters near the habitation. Father Le Baillif and Jean Baptiste Guers asked them to produce their papers. They declared that they had authority to trade from the old Company of Rouen, which still existed through articles agreed to by the Duke of Montmorency, and that a trial was at present pending between the two societies. On receiving this information from Father Le Baillif, Champlain decided to allow five clerks the necessary merchandise for trading; they were, however, told that the old company had been dissolved, and that the new company only was invested with authority to trade. The clerks were satisfied with Champlain's decision, but they objected to the presence of armed soldiers in the fort, which they claimed was not in accordance with the king's commands. The clerks finally went to Three Rivers to carry on their trade.

On June 13th, Pont-Gravé arrived at Quebec.

Here he was questioned as to his authority, although he was treated with the respect and courtesy due to his age and character. Pont-Gravé assured Champlain that the disputes between the two companies would be resolved in a friendly way, and that he had received news to this effect before he sailed from Honfleur. He then started for Three Rivers to join his clerks.

Some days after these events, a clerk named Rouvier, in the employ of de Caën, arrived with letters from Dolu, de Villemenon, and Guillaume de Caën, and left a copy of an order-in-council in favour of the old company. Champlain also received a letter from the king. The order-in-council granted permission to both companies to trade during the year 1621, provided that both should contribute equally towards the maintenance of the captains, soldiers, and the inhabitants of Quebec.

Foreseeing a conflict between de Caën and Pont-Gravé, Champlain went to Tadousac, and advised de Caën to respect Pont-Gravé's authority. De Caën replied that he could not do so, as he had received authority privately from the king. Champlain therefore assured the commandment to Pont-Gravé's vessel, in order to protect his old friend, and thus it happened that this affair which threatened to produce serious consequences, was smoothed over through Champlain's intervention. Pont-Gravé then took possession of his vessel in the presence of

de Caën, who offered no opposition, and a few days after they both returned to France.

De Caën had promised to send twenty-five men to Quebec, but he sent only eighteen. A certain quantity of stores was also brought to Quebec at this time by Jacques Halard, and a number of halberds, arquebuses, lances, and many barrels of powder, which were delivered in the presence of Jean Baptiste Varin, who had been sent by Guillaume de Caën, and Guers.

Father Georges Le Baillif also left for France during the autumn, as a delegate from the inhabitants of the settlement, who had prepared a memorandum of their grievances. This document was signed by Champlain, Father Jamet, Father Le Caron, Louis Hébert, Guillaume Couillard, Eustache Boullé, Pierre Reye, Olivier Le Tardif, J. Groux, Pierre Desportes, Nicholas and J. B. Guers. On his arrival in France, Father Le Baillif had an interview with the king, and placed the memorandum in question in His Majesty's hands. The king admitted that the complaints were well founded, but at the same time he stated that it was impossible to grant all that was requested. The Huguenots were to retain their commercial liberty, and Champlain obtained some supplies, and his salary, which was formerly six hundred livres, was increased to twelve hundred.

Father Le Baillif's mission was unfruitful, for he brought word of the amalgamation of the two

companies, whose chiefs were Guillaume de Caën, Ezechiel de Caën, and their nephew, Emery de Caën. The order-in-council establishing this large company granted to them the liberty of trading in New France, and all French subjects were eligible for admission to the society. By this arrangement the de Caëns were obliged to pay the sum of ten thousand livres to the members of the old Rouen association, and a sum equal to the value of their goods, barques and canoes. The old company received five-twelfths of the Company of Montmorency, one-twelfth of which was reserved by de Monts, who was at that time living at his residence in Saintonge. By this latter arrangement, however, the de Caëns were relieved from the payment of the ten thousand livres imposed upon them by the order-in-council. When Father Le Baillif returned to Quebec in the spring of 1622, all the old rivalry had disappeared. The Company of Rouen had adopted the name of the Company of Montmorency with the de Caëns as chiefs.

The principal articles stipulated in the agreement were:—

1. Champlain to be lieutenant of the viceroy, with precedence on land, and to command the habitation of Quebec, and to have command of all the French residents in New France. Ten men were also to be placed at his disposal, who were to be maintained at the expense of de Caën, who was also to pay to each an annual sum of twenty livres.

2. The company was also to maintain six Récollet fathers, two of whom were to be engaged in missions to the savages.

3. The company was to support and maintain six families of labourers, carpenters and masons, during the period of the agreement, the families to be changed every two years.

4. The company was to pay the sum of twelve hundred francs as a salary to Champlain.

5. Champlain was to enjoy the privilege of trading for eleven years, and to this term the king added another eleven years.

The first man to bring the news of a change of authority was a clerk named Santein, but it was confirmed some days after by the arrival of Pont-Gravé and Guillaume de Caën, who were accompanied by a clerk named Le Sire, an underclerk named Thierry-Desdames,[1] and Raymond de la Ralde. De Caën handed to Champlain a letter from the king, who advised him to recognize the authority of the new company, and also to endeavour to maintain peace and harmony. When de Caën had completed his trading at Three Rivers he sailed again for France, leaving Pont-Gravé as chief clerk at Quebec, and Le Baillif as underclerk at Tadousac.

[1] Thierry-Desdames arrived at Quebec in 1622, as underclerk of the company, which position he occupied until 1628. We lose trace of him after that date, but we find him again in 1639 at Miscou Island, where he served as captain. He was a good Catholic, charitable, and a friend of the Jesuits.

In order to establish good order throughout the country, Champlain published certain ordinances, which should be regarded as the first code of Canadian laws. Although it was desirable to maintain peace, it was also necessary to prepare to resist the attacks of the Iroquois, who were becoming more and more active. A party of the Iroquois had approached Quebec, and were observed to be rambling in the vicinity of the Récollets' convent, on the north shore of the River St. Charles. They finally made an attack, but they were repulsed with loss by the French and the Montagnais, whose chief was Mahicanaticouche, Champlain's friend. This chief was the son of the famous Anadabijou, who had contracted the first alliance with the French at Tadousac in 1603.

In the year 1623, the vessels arrived from France later than usual, and the rendezvous took place at Cape de la Victoire on July 23rd. On this occasion the following persons were present: Champlain, Pont-Gravé, Guillaume de Caën, Captain Duchesne, des Marets, De Vernet, Étienne Brûlé, an interpreter, Loquin, a clerk, Father Nicholas Viel, and Brother Sagard-Théodat.

On his return to Quebec, Champlain declared that certain sailors had appropriated a number of beaver skins, and he therefore confiscated them and had them placed in the store, pending the decision of the company. This infraction of the rules of commerce was trifling when compared with the contra-

band which was carried on freely in the lower St. Lawrence. The merchants of La Rochelle and the Basques were the most notorious in this respect. Their vessels were constantly sailing from one shore to another, trading furs, although they had no authority to do so. They were found at Tadousac, at Bic, and at Green Island. The Spanish, English and Dutch vessels also carried on an illegitimate trade in the same waters. Champlain mentions the fact that a Spanish captain, whose vessel was anchored at Green Island, had sent his sailors at night to Tadousac, in order that they might watch what was being done, and hear what was being said on board the *Admiral.*

At the commencement of the spring of 1624, a dark cloud hung over New France. The winter had been severe, and provisions were scarce. Champlain had only four barrels of flour in the store, so that he was anxiously awaiting assistance. On June 2nd he received good news. A vessel of sixty tons was anchored at Tadousac, laden with pease, biscuits and cider. To the starving settlement this was most welcome, and some days after Guillaume de Caën arrived with still more provisions.

After having traded at Three Rivers, de Caën visited Quebec, the Island of Orleans, and the vicinity of Cape Tourmente and the neighbouring islands. He was now the proprietor of these lands, having received them as a gift from the Duke of Montmorency.

Champlain now resolved to recross the ocean, and to take with him his young wife, who had spent four years in Quebec. Emery de Caën was given the command of the settlement in the absence of Champlain. On August 18th two ships sailed from Tadousac, having on board Champlain, Hélène Boullé, Pont-Gravé, Guillaume de Caën, Father Piat, Brother Sagard, J. B. Guers, Joubert, and Captain de la Vigne. At Gaspé, Raymond de la Ralde and a pilot named Cananée joined the party. The voyage was brief and pleasant to Champlain's party, but Cananée's ship was captured by the Turks, and its commander was put to a cruel death.[1]

[1] Cananée was one of the most famous French navigators of his time. From 1608 to 1624 he used to fish on the banks of Miscou and in the gulf. He was at first captain and co-proprietor of the *Mouton*, a vessel of one hundred and twenty tons, but some years later, he commanded the *Ste. Madeleine*, a ship of fifty tons. It was this vessel that the Turks captured on the coast of Bretagne. Cananée was a fervent Catholic.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CHAMPLAIN, THE JESUITS AND THE SAVAGES

THE first inhabitants of the settlement of New France were the interpreters, clerks, and workmen, employed by the merchants. They were termed the winterers, in opposition to the captains and sailors who visited the colony for the purpose of trading only. The interpreters present an interesting feature in the life of the new colony. Their functions rendered it necessary for them to reside for an indefinite period with an Indian tribe, in order to qualify themselves to act as interpreters for their countrymen during trade, or for the missionaries while catechising or providing other religious exercises. A daily intercourse with the Indians was absolutely essential in order to induce them to keep their appointments with the traders at the established rendezvous. The interpreters had seldom any other occupation, although some of them acted as clerks, and thereby received a larger salary, in addition to a certain number of beaver skins which they could exchange for goods.

Étienne Brûlé and Nicholas Marsolet, who arrived at Quebec with Champlain in the year 1608, acted as interpreters, but at first they did not meet with much success. They were, however, both young

and intelligent, and Brûlé soon acquired a knowledge of the Huron language, while Marsolet mastered the idiom of the Algonquin tongue. Brûlé spent nearly all his life among the Hurons, who adopted him as a member of their family, while Marsolet accompanied the Algonquins to Allumette Island, and became one of their best friends. Historians of Canada mention the names of many other interpreters of this period, some of whom founded families, while others afterwards returned to France. In the year 1613 three interpreters arrived, Nicholas du Vignau, Jacques Hertel, and Thomas Godefroy. In the year 1618 there was only one arrival, Jean Manet, who took up his residence among the people residing on the shores of Lake Nipissing.

In the year 1619 Jean Nicolet came to Canada, and won great esteem in the country of his choice. He was the father of a large family, the descendants of whom are very numerous. Three more interpreters came in 1621, Du Vernet, Le Baillif, and Olivier Le Tardif, and two in 1623, namely, Jean-Paul Godefroy and Jacques Couillard, and finally in 1624 Jean Richer and Lamontagne, thus making twelve interpreters between the years 1608 and 1625. Of this number the two Godefroys, Marsolet, Nicolet, Hertel, and Le Tardif were distinguished on account of the part which they took in Canadian affairs; and the knowledge which they had obtained of the native languages rendered them competent to

discuss delicate questions relating to the welfare of the colony. Their services to the authorities, both civil and religious, were therefore at certain periods exceedingly valuable. It is among these men that we may fittingly seek for the founders of the Canadian race.

The second class of settlers, or winterers, as they were termed, will be spoken of later. From the year 1608 to 1613 not a single settler or head of a family came to Canada, but at this latter date we find the names of Abraham Martin, Nicholas Pivert and Pierre Desportes. They were married and brought their wives and families with them. Abraham Martin and Pierre Desportes had each a daughter, and Pivert had a niece. Guillaume Couillard arrived during the same year, but he was a bachelor. We have already spoken in a previous chapter of the return of Champlain from France in the year 1617, on which occasion he was accompanied by Louis Hébert and his family. There also arrived in 1617, Étienne Jonquest, to whom we have likewise referred. In 1618 another family took up its residence in New France, namely Adrien Duchesne, surgeon, and his wife. Eustache Boullé, brother-in-law to Champlain, came over in 1618, and two families arrived in 1619, but they were immediately sent back, as the occupation of the head of one of the families was that of a butcher, and the other was a needle manufacturer, and there was no opening for either in a new settlement. In the year 1620,

the settlers gave a cordial welcome to Hélène Boullé, who was attended by three female servants. From the year 1620 to 1625, history is silent as to new arrivals. Champlain had made every effort to induce settlers to take up their residence in Quebec, but the population was still very scanty.

There were really only seven settled families at this time, composed of twenty persons, seven men and seven women, and six children. Their names were as follows:—Abraham Martin and his wife Marguerite Langlois, and his two daughters, Anne and Marguerite; Pierre Desportes and his wife Françoise Langlois, and a girl named Hélène; Nicholas Pivert and his wife Marguerite Lesage, and their niece; Louis Hébert and his wife Marie Rollet, and a son named Guillaume; Adrien Duchesne and his wife; Guillaume Couillard, his wife, Guillemette Hébert, and a girl named Louise; Champlain and his wife Hélène Boullé.

When Abraham Martin came to Quebec, he was twenty-four years of age. The official documents refer to him as king's pilot, and the Jesuits named him Maître Abraham, while to the people he was Martin l'Ecossais. His family gave to the Catholic Church of Canada her second priest in chronological order. This priest, who was born at Quebec, was named Charles Amador. After having served as a mariner for the Company of Rouen, Abraham Martin became a farmer, and was the proprietor of two portions of land, consisting of thirty-two

acres.[1] He received twenty acres of land from Adrien Duchesne, and twelve acres from the Company of New France, on December 4th, 1635.[2] This property was named the Plains of Abraham, and all the ground in the immediate vicinity gradually assumed the same title. A part of the famous conflict fought on September 13th, 1759, and known as the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, actually occurred on the ground owned by Abraham Martin, and thus it is that the name of this first settler has been perpetuated in prose and verse.

Louis Hébert, the son of a Parisian apothecary, followed the profession of his father in Canada. He first tried to establish himself at Port Royal, where we find him in the year 1606. He left Port Royal in 1607, but he appears to have returned there, as in the year 1613 he is mentioned as acting as lieutenant in the place of Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt. When Port Royal was abandoned, Hébert returned to France, where he met Champlain, who induced him to turn his steps towards Canada once more. Soon after his second visit to New France, he commenced to build a residence in the Upper Town of Quebec, upon the summit of Mountain Hill. This building, which was of stone, measured thirty-eight feet in length, and was nineteen feet broad.

[1] For a plan of Abraham Martin's property, see, *The Story of the Siege and the Battle of the Plains of Abraham*, by A. G. Doughty.

[2] See *Deed of Concession*, p. 414, Trans. R. S. C., 1899, by A. G. Doughty.

It was in this house that Father Le Jeune said mass when he came to Quebec in 1632. Hébert received some concessions of land from the companies, and at once commenced to cultivate it, so that he was able to live from its produce. Champlain praises him for this course. Hébert died in the year 1627, from mortal injuries caused by a fall. He was buried in the cemetery of the Récollets, at the foot of the great cross, according to his desire.

The Récollet fathers lived until the year 1620 in their humble residence near the chapel and habitation of Quebec, in the Lower Town. In the year 1619 they employed some workmen to fell trees on the shores of the River St. Charles, near an agreeable tract of land which Hébert had cleared. It was situated at half a league from the habitation, and the people of Quebec hoped at that time to build the town there. During the winter each piece of timber was prepared for the building, and the savages assisted in the work. On June 3rd, 1620, the first stone of the convent was solemnly laid by Father d'Olbeau. The arms of the king were engraved upon the stone near those of the Prince de Condé. The convent was finished and blessed on May 25th, 1621, and dedicated to Notre Dame des Anges. It was on this date that the name of St. Charles was given to the river Ste. Croix, or the Cabir-Coubat of the Indians, in honour of the Reverend Charles de Ransay des Boues, syndic of the Canadian missions.

There were six Récollet fathers at Quebec in 1621, and two brothers. Fathers Guillaume Galleran and Irénée Piat came in 1622, the former in the capacity of visitor and superior. A coincidence of their arrival was the induction of the first religious novitiate. Pierre Langoissieux, of Rouen, took the monastic habit under the name of Brother Charles, at a special ceremony in the presence of Champlain and his wife, and some Frenchmen and Indians. Three young men also received the small scapulary of the Franciscan order. Father Piat left Quebec for the Montagnais mission, while Father Huet was sent to Three Rivers, and Father Poullain to the Nipissing mission in the west. In the year 1623, Father Nicholas Viel and Brother Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, the historian of the Huron mission, arrived. They were entertained at the convent of Notre Dame des Anges. At the solemn Te Deum, which was sung in the chapel on this occasion, there were present seven fathers and four brothers. Fathers Le Caron and Viel, and Brother Sagard arranged for some Indian guides to conduct them to the Huron country, where they arrived on July 23rd. The party spent the winter among the Hurons, and during the following year Brother Sagard was recalled to France by his superiors. The Récollets continued to conduct services in the small chapel in the Lower Town, which served as the parochial church of Quebec.

In the year 1624 the French colony was placed

under the patronage of Saint Joseph, who has remained from that date the patron saint of Canada. Champlain was at this time in France, and had met Montmorency at St. Germain-en-Laye, after the Récollets had complained of the conduct of the Huguenots. While the missionaries were celebrating mass, the Huguenots annoyed them by singing psalms, and they occupied the poop-royal on board the vessels for their services, while the Catholics were compelled to assemble in the forecastle, without distinction of persons. The Récollets also complained of the negligence of the associates, who had not provided for the material requirements of the mission. Father Piat set forth that while the missionaries were prepared to sacrifice their health and their mother country in order to civilize the Indians, they were not ready, under the circumstances, to die simply for the want of food, when it was the duty of the associates to provide for them. Father Piat also suggested the advisability of forming a seminary for young Indians, as a means of developing their moral character, of teaching them the rudiments of religion, and whereby the Récollets might acquire a knowledge of the Indian language. Realizing that they were unable to found such an institution alone, they decided to ask assistance from the Jesuits, who had great influence at court, and who might possibly be able to establish such a building from their own resources. If these resolutions had been known, the

Huguenots would doubtless have prevented the Jesuits' departure, but the news was only made public when it was too late to formulate any opposition.

Champlain, who was at this time endeavouring to induce the merchants to carry out their engagements, thought it advisable not to take any part in urging the requests of the mission, for fear of compromising its success, and he considered it the best policy to be very discreet. Father Coton, provincial of the Jesuit order, accepted with pleasure the proposals of the Récollets, as the order was always glad of an opportunity of preaching the gospel in distant lands. The Jesuits had already founded the Acadian mission, but its results had much disappointed their hopes. Champlain was pleased to learn that the desire of the Récollets was accomplished, although he had taken no part towards its fulfilment. Indeed his services were fully employed elsewhere. The old merchants were fighting with the new ones, the dispute arising from the different methods of recruiting crews for their ships.

These petty quarrels, which were constantly brought to the notice of Montmorency, caused him much annoyance, and he consequently resigned his position of viceroy in favour of his nephew, Ventadour, peer of France and governor of Languedoc, for a sum of one hundred thousand livres. The king gave his assent to the transaction, and Henri de Lévis, duc de Ventadour, received his commission,

dated March 25th, 1625. He is described as a pious man, who had no other desire than the glory of God. The duke appointed Champlain as his lieutenant, and ordered him to erect forts in New France wherever he should deem it necessary, and empowered him to create officers of justice to maintain peace and harmony.

Endued with such powers, Champlain did not hesitate to continue his work. The duke's appointment was also received with favour by the Récollets and Jesuits. The associates were not friendly disposed towards the Jesuits, but seeing that they did not ask any assistance from them, they made no opposition to their departure for Canada.

Guillaume de Caën took with him on his vessel three Jesuit fathers and two brothers. These were Fathers Charles Lalemant, Jean de Brébeuf and Enemond Massé. The brothers were François Charton and Gilbert Burel. Father Lalemant, formerly director of the college of Clermont, was appointed director of the mission. Champlain speaks of him as a very devoted and zealous man. Father Massé had been previously in Acadia, where he proved his devotedness to the Indians. Father de Brébeuf, the youngest of the three, was distinguished by reason of his mature judgment and great prudence. The number of the Récollets was increased by the arrival of Father Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, a man of noble and exalted character.

De Caën's vessel sailed from Dieppe, and although

the voyage was long, it was a pleasant one. When the Jesuits reached Quebec, they met with strong opposition from the clerks, and there was no residence prepared for them. The only course which appeared open to them was to return to France, unless they could find a lodging with the Récollets.

In the meantime the clerks circulated a pamphlet amongst the families of the settlement, with a view to creating a prejudice against the Jesuits. It was *L'Anticoton*,[1] a libellous communication, which had been proven false by Father Coton. The Récollets at once extended a courteous invitation to the Jesuits, which they gratefully accepted, and took up their residence in the convent. The Récollets also begged them to accept as a loan the timber work of a building which had been prepared for their own use.

The gratitude of the Jesuits under these circumstances, is not sufficiently well known. Father Lale-

[1] Father Mariana, a Jesuit, having published a book entitled, *De Regi et Regis Institutione*, in which he denounced tyranny and its fomenters, the court ordered that the work should be burnt, under the pretext that Ravaillac, who had assassinated Henri IV, had taken advantage of the Jesuit's authority to excuse his murder. It was certain that the Jesuits were the best friends of the late king. Nevertheless, they had to suffer the hostility of a certain part of the secular clergy. Father Coton, a Jesuit, published at once a pamphlet under the title, "Is it lawful to kill the tyrants?" in which he taught that it is not lawful to kill a king, except he abuses his authority. An answer to the pamphlet, published anonymously, soon appeared, which was a satirical paper rather than a refutation of Father Coton's letter. During the same year a new satirical paper against the Jesuits was printed, entitled *L'Anticoton*. It was translated into Latin.

mant's letter addressed to the Provincial of the Récollets in France, admirably sets forth their position, and will be read with interest by every student of this portion of our history.

"Reverend Father: Pax Christi. It would be too ungrateful were I not to write to your Reverence to thank you for the many letters lately written in our favour to the Fathers who are here in New France, and for the charity which we have received from the Fathers, who put us under eternal obligation. I beseech our good God to be the reward of you both. For myself, I write to our Superiors that I feel it so deeply that I will let no occasion pass of showing it, and I beg them, although already most affectionately disposed, to show your whole holy order the same feelings. Father Joseph will tell your Reverence the object of his voyage, for the success of which we shall not cease to offer prayers and sacrifices to God. This time we must advance in good earnest the affairs of our Master, and omit nothing that shall be deemed necessary. I have written to all who, I thought, could aid it, and I am sure they will exert themselves, if affairs in France permit. Your Reverence, I doubt not, is affectionately inclined, and so *vis unita*, our united effort, will do much. Awaiting the result, I commend myself to the Holy Sacrifice of your Reverence, whose most humble servant I am.

"Charles Lalemant."

"Quebec, July 28th, 1625."

The Jesuits accepted the hospitality of the Récollets until the convent which they built on the opposite side of the river St. Charles, was ready for their habitation. It was situated near the entrance of the river Lairet, about two hundred paces from the shore. We shall meet them there a little later, working hard, in common with the Récollets with whom they were good friends, for the civilization of the Indians.

When Guillaume de Cäen returned to France, he was summoned to appear before the tribunal of the state council, as he had not put into effect all the articles of his contract. The chief complaint against him was that the admiral or commodore of the fleet was not a Catholic. For this appointment, however, he was not responsible, as it was made by the associates, and he therefore summoned them to give their explanations before the admiralty judge. The case was finally settled by His Majesty's council in favour of Guillaume de Caën, on the condition that he should at once appoint a Catholic. Raymond de la Ralde was the officer of his choice.

Champlain started at once for Dieppe, together with Eustache Boullé whom he appointed his lieutenant, and Destouches, his second lieutenant. Their departure for Canada occurred on April 24th, 1626, and there were five vessels in the squadron: the *Catherine*, two hundred and fifty tons, commanded

by de la Ralde;[1] *La Flèque*, two hundred and sixty tons, with Emery de Caën as vice-admiral; *L'Alouette*, eighty tons, and two other vessels, one of two hundred tons, and the other of one hundred and twenty tons.

Champlain was on board the *Catherine*, and he arrived at Percé on June 20th. Before anchoring at Tadousac, Emery de Caën caused his crew to assemble on deck, and he there informed them that the Duc de Ventadour desired that psalms should not be sung, as they had been accustomed to sing them on the Atlantic. Two-thirds of the crew grumbled at this order, and Champlain advised de Caën to allow meetings for prayer only. This ruling was judicious, although it was not accepted with pleasure.

At Moulin Baude, near Tadousac Bay, Champlain received intelligence that Pont-Gravé, who had wintered at Quebec, had been very ill, and that the inhabitants had resolved to leave the country at the earliest opportunity owing to the sufferings which they had endured from famine.

When Champlain arrived at Quebec on July 5th, 1626, he found all the settlers in good health, but

[1] Raymond de la Ralde who was a Catholic, was the first captain of the island of Miscou, the history of which commenced in 1620. Guillaume de Caën appointed de la Ralde as his lieutenant to protect the trade in the Gulf of St. Lawrence against the Basques and others, especially at Percé, Gaspé, and Miscou. From the year 1627, de la Ralde ceased to be of importance, as his fortunes followed the de Caëns.

little had been done towards the building of the fort, or towards repairing the habitation. He, therefore, set twenty men to work at once. Emery de Caën left Quebec in order to carry on trade with the Indians. There were at Quebec at this time fifty-five persons, of whom eighteen were labourers. Champlain wished to have ten men constantly employed at the fort, but Guillaume de Caën had promised them elsewhere, and the merchants obliged them to work at the habitation, which they considered more useful than the fort. Champlain, however, did not agree with them on this point.

The oldest fortification of Quebec was commenced in the year 1620, on the summit of Cape Diamond, and the work was continued in 1621, when Champlain was able to establish a small garrison within the walls. Communication was opened between the habitation and the fort during the winter of 1623-4, by means of a small road, less abrupt than the former one. The fort was named Fort St. Louis.

In April 1624, a strong wind carried away the roof of the fort, and transported it a distance of thirty feet, over the rampart. During this storm the gable of Louis Hébert's residence was also destroyed. This accident caused some delay to the works, and the merchants still maintained their opposition to the construction of the fort. "If we fortify Quebec," they said, "the garrisons will be the masters of the ground, and our trade will be over." Guillaume de Caën supported the opposition by saying that the

Spaniards would take possession of New France, if a boast were made of its resources. The king, finally, had to undertake the defence of the colony alone.

Before leaving for France in 1624, Champlain had ordered the workmen to gather fascines for the completion of the fort, but upon his return to Canada, two years later, he found that nothing had been done. Champlain therefore decided to demolish the old fort, and to construct a more spacious one with the old materials, composed of fascines, pieces of wood and grass, after the Norman method. The fort was flanked with two bastions of wood and grass, until such time as they could be covered with stone. The fort was ready for habitation at the commencement of the year 1629, and Champlain took up his residence there at this date, with two young Indian girls whom he had adopted as his children. After the capitulation of Quebec in 1629, Louis Kirke resided in the fort with a part of his crew.[1]

Although Champlain was not satisfied with the conduct of the merchants towards the French, he was nevertheless pleased with the Indian tribes. This noble care and management of these poor natives constitute one of the brightest pages of his life. If we wish to form an impartial judgment of the heroic qualities of Champlain, we must study his daily relations with the chiefs of the various

[1] Champlain died within Fort St. Louis, and the Governor Montmagny had the building restored under the title of Château St. Louis, which name it bore until its complete demolition.

tribes. It is here that his true character is revealed to us, and we are forced to admire both the patience and care which he bestowed upon these people, and also his exercise of diplomacy which rendered him from the first the most beloved and respected of the French. His word commanded passive obedience, and to maintain his friendship they were willing to make any sacrifice which he desired. In this respect Champlain was more successful than the missionaries, nor is it a matter of surprise that his memory was cherished among the Indians longer than that of Father Le Caron or of Father de Brébeuf. In their appreciation of character, the Indians recognized instinctively that the calling of the missionaries rendered their lives more perfect than that of a man of the world, but the special characteristics and virtues of each did not escape their penetration. Champlain took every care to preserve his friendship with the Indians, not only on his own account, but also for the sake of the traders, and of commerce generally, for his name acted as a safe-conduct. Champlain had another ambition. He realized that if he could induce the Indians to gather in the vicinity of Quebec, they would prove a means of defence against the incursions of enemies. It seems to have been a good policy, and the Jesuits who adopted the same means had reason to be satisfied with their action.

In the year 1622 Champlain tried to establish the Montagnais near Quebec. Miristou, their chief, was willing, and they began to cultivate the land in the

vicinity of La Canardière, on the north shore of the river St. Charles. By living in the midst of such a community, Champlain hoped to be able to derive new information regarding the country.

The sempiternal question of an open sea, admitting a free passage from Europe to China, was constantly under the consideration of navigators. Whether or not the founder of Quebec believed in this passage, we are not prepared to assert, as he does not make any definite statement, but from his Relations it is evident that he hoped to ascertain whether it were possible to reach the far west by means of the river St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes. He knew that he could serve the interest of the mother country by obtaining new data, and his opinions were well received in France, although the recent wars had somewhat engrossed public attention. The travels of the Récollets in the Huron country had not resulted in the acquisition of new territory, and the interpreters had nothing further to do than to discover new tribes with whom trade might be developed. Western Canada had consequently been neglected both for the want of explorers and of resources, as Champlain was of course unable to explore the whole American continent, and at the same time govern the colony of New France, where his presence was necessary to preserve harmony amongst the Indians.

Champlain tried to effect an alliance with the Iroquois during the year 1622, and for this purpose

he sent two Montagnais to their country as delegates. In the meantime a double murder occurred in the colony. A Frenchman named Pillet and his companion were murdered by an unknown party. The facts were brought to the notice of the court in France, and it was decided to pardon the murderer on the condition that he would confess his crime, and publicly ask for pardon. Champlain appears to have been anxious to assert his authority, on this occasion, for the prevention of such crimes, but the merchants were inclined to condone the offence, and one day Guillaume de Caën in the presence of Champlain and some captains, took a sword, and caused it to be cast into the middle of the St. Lawrence, in order that the Indians might understand that the crime even as the sword, was buried forever. The effect of this action was otherwise than desired. The Hurons ridiculed the affair, and said that they had nothing to fear in the future if they murdered a Frenchman.

The murderer was a Montagnais, and the tribe consequently approved of this lack of justice. Champlain, however, desired a more severe imposition of the law. The Montagnais were perhaps the most dangerous of Champlain's allies, especially as their treachery was marked by the outward appearance of serious friendship. In the Montagnais were united all the vices of the other Indian tribes as well as the bad features of some of the Europeans, especially those of the Rochelois and Basques. They

were bold and independent, but Champlain soon showed them, by ceasing to care for them, that he was not to be imposed upon. Fearing to lose the friendship of Champlain, they endeavoured to regain the position which they had in a measure lost; but instead of remaining passive, they boasted of the ease with which they could find protectors and advocates amongst the French. This conduct did not please Champlain, who would have preferred to find a people more amenable to natural laws, which are in themselves a defence against murder.

The Montagnais who had been sent to the Iroquois returned to Quebec in July, 1624. They had been courteously received, and as a result of their negotiations, a general meeting of the Indians was held at Three Rivers. There might be seen Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, Iroquois, and the French with their interpreters. The meeting was conducted with perfect order. There were many speeches, followed by the feast pantagruelic. The war hatchet was buried, so that Champlain could leave for France without being very anxious as to the fate of his compatriots.

The alliance of 1624 did not last long, however, owing to the imprudence of the Montagnais who had journeyed to the Dutch settlement on the banks of the Hudson and promised to assist the settlers in their wars against the Mohicans and Iroquois. Champlain interfered, and reminded the Montagnais that they were bound to observe the treaty of 1624, and

there was no reason to break it. "The Iroquois," said Champlain, "ought to be considered as our friends as long as the war hatchet is not disinterred, and I will go myself to help them in their wars, if necessary."

This language pleased the chief of the Montagnais, and he asked Champlain to send some one to Three Rivers, if he could not go himself, in order to prevent the other nations from fighting against the Iroquois. Étienne Brûlé was sent on this delicate mission, but as opinion was divided as to the advisability of the war, it was decided to wait until the arrival of the vessels. Emery de Caën arrived soon after, and hastened to meet the allies, who, according to rumour, were preparing to go to war against the Iroquois. In addition to this a party had gone to Lake Champlain, where they had made two Iroquois prisoners, who were, however, delivered by the murderer of Pillet.

Champlain and Mahicanaticouche arrived in the meantime, whereupon a general council was held. Champlain severely blamed the authors of this escapade, the consequences of which might be terrible. It was resolved to send a new embassy to the Five Nations at once, composed of Cherououny called *Le Réconcilié* by the French, Chimeourimou, chief of the Montagnais, Pierre Magnan, and an Iroquois, adopted when young by a Montagnais widow. The delegates left for Lake Champlain on July 24th. One month after, an Indian came to Quebec with

the news that the four delegates had been murdered by the Tsonnontouans. Magnan had murdered one of his compatriots in France, and by coming to Canada had evaded justice.

This massacre put an end to thoughts of peace. In September some Iroquois were known to be *en route* for Quebec, evidently with hostile motives. It was just at this time that a number of savages were coming from a distance of fifty or sixty leagues to fish in the river St. Lawrence. Nothing serious happened from the visit of the Iroquois, and Champlain was able to visit his habitation at Cape Tourmente without danger. In his absence, however, a double murder was committed at La Canardière. Two Frenchmen, one named Dumoulin, and the other Henri, a servant of the widow Hébert, were found dead, having been shot with muskets.

The murderer's intention had been to kill the baker of the habitation, and a servant of Robert Giffard, the surgeon. Champlain was anxious to punish this murderer, but the difficulty was to discover him. Champlain summoned all the captains of the Montagnais, and having set forth all the favours which he had bestowed upon the nation, contrasted them with the conduct which he had received at their hands since 1616. There had already been four murders of which they were guilty. Champlain therefore demanded that they should find and give up the guilty party. One Montagnais who was suspected, was examined, but he denied everything.

Champlain, however, ordered him to be detained in jail until the real criminal should be found.

During the winter of 1628, about thirty Montagnais, miserable and hungry, came to the habitation, asking for bread. Champlain took this opportunity of pointing out to them the evil of their race, and of the crimes they had committed. They declared that they knew nothing whatever of the crime, and to show that they were not responsible they offered three young girls to Champlain to be educated. Champlain accepted them and treated them as his own children, naming them *Foi*, *Espérance*, and *Charité*.

After having kept the Montagnais in jail for fourteen months he was released, as there was no proof against him. Champlain learned soon after that he was not guilty, and that the real criminal was dead, being none other than Mahicanaticouche, one of the captains of the Montagnais.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE COMPANY OF NEW FRANCE OR HUNDRED ASSOCIATES

IN spite of Champlain's strenuous efforts, the permanent existence of New France seemed as yet problematical. At a time when internal peace was imperative the domination of the mercantile companies came to increase the distress of the struggling colony. The difficulties of colonization likewise were immense, and Quebec at the period of which we write, instead of being a thriving town, had scarcely the appearance of a small village. In the year 1627 it could boast only six private residences. The Récollets were living at their convent, but the Jesuits had not completed their new building. The Récollets had abandoned the Huron mission as their numbers were diminishing every year, and they were too poor to continue their ministrations without assistance. They still held in charge the missions at Quebec and at Tadousac. Father d'Olbeau, who had been present at the opening of the Récollet convent at Quebec, saw its doors closed. He remained, however, at his post, and rendered valuable assistance to Champlain.

The Jesuits made great personal efforts for the advancement of the colony, and Father Noyrot had

sailed for Canada with a number of workmen and a good store of provisions, but unfortunately his vessel did not reach Quebec.

The negligence of Montmorency's company was the principal cause why Quebec was abandoned to its own resources. Champlain was powerless against the ill-will of the company, and the only redress was in the person of the king. Cardinal Richelieu, who was superintendent of the navigation and commerce of France, resolved to reform the remnant of a company founded in 1626, and composed of one hundred associates, for conducting the commerce of the East and West. As the duc de Ventadour had resigned the office of viceroy, the cardinal held a meeting of many rich and zealous persons in his hotel at Paris, whose names would be a guarantee of the success of the colonization of New France, and also of its religious institutions. Among those present were Claude de Roquemont, Sieur de Brison, Louis Houel, Sieur du Petit-Pré, Gabriel de Lattaignant, formerly mayor of Calais, Simon Dablon, syndic of Dieppe, David Duchesne, councillor and alderman of Havre de Grâce, and Jacques Castillon, citizen of Paris.

On April 25th, 1627, the cardinal and these personages signed the act which founded the Company of New France. In the preamble it is mentioned that the colonization in New France shall be Catholic only, as this was regarded as the best means of converting the Indians. The associates pledged

themselves to send two or three hundred men to New France during the year 1628, and to augment this number to four thousand within fifteen years from this date, i.e., by the year 1643. They agreed to lodge, feed and entertain the settlers for a period of three years, and after that date to grant to each family a tract of land sufficiently prepared for cultivation. Three priests were to be maintained at each habitation, at the expense of the company, for a period of fifteen years.

The king granted to the company numerous privileges, the lands of New France, the river St. Lawrence, islands, mines, fisheries, Florida, together with the power of conceding lands in these countries, and the faculty of granting titles, honours, rights and powers, according to the condition, quality, or merit of the people. His Majesty also granted to the company the monopoly of the fur and leather trade from January 1st, 1628, until December 31st, 1643, reserving for the French people in general the cod and whale fisheries. In order to induce his subjects to settle in New France the king announced that during the next fifteen years all goods coming from the French colony should be free of duty.

This act was signed on April 29th, 1627, and the letters patent ratifying the articles were signed on May 6th, 1628. The letters patent also ratified some other provisions made on May 7th, 1627, namely:—(1.) A capital of three hundred thousand livres, by instalments of three thousand livres each.

(2.) The society to adopt the name of the Campagnie de la Nouvelle France. (3.) The management of the company to be conducted through twelve directors, with full powers to name officers, to distribute lands, establish factors or clerks, to conduct trade and dispose of the joint-stock.

Of these twelve directors six were obliged to live in Paris. The names of the twelve directors who were elected are here given :—Simon Alix, councillor and king's secretary; Pierre Aubert, councillor and king's secretary; Thomas Bonneau, Sieur du Plessis; Pierre Robineau, treasurer of cavalry; Raoul L'Huillier, merchant of Paris; Barthélemy Quentin, merchant of Paris; Jean Tuffet, merchant of Bordeaux; Gabriel Lattaignant, formerly mayor of Calais; Jean Rozée, merchant of Rouen; Simon Lemaistre, merchant of Rouen; Louis Houel, comptroller of saltworks at Brouage; Bonaventure Quentin, Sieur de Richebourg.

These directors were elected for a term of two years, and six of them had to be replaced at each election. The first term of office expired on December 31st, 1629. The election was held in Paris at the house of the intendant, Jean de Lauzon, king's councillor, master of requests and president of the Grand Council. Cardinal Richelieu and the Duke d'Effiat headed the list of the Hundred Associates. We find also the name of Samuel Champlain, captain of the king's marine, of Isaac de Razilly, chevalier de St. Jean de Jérusalem,

Sébastien Cramoisy, the famous printer; François de Ré, Sieur Gand, and many important merchants of Paris, Rouen, Calais, Dieppe, Bordeaux, Lyons, Bayonne, and Havre de Grâce.

This association was formed under auspicious circumstances; its members possessed wealth and influence, and they were certainly in a position to remove the difficulties which had hindered the growth of New France from its foundation.[1]

While these transactions were in progress Champlain was living at Quebec in want of even the necessaries of life. For the past two years Champlain had established a farm for raising cattle at the foot of Cape Tourmente. Some farm buildings and dwellings for the men were erected there, and Champlain visited the place every summer to see that the work was properly carried on. The Récollets had a chapel there in which they said mass from time to time. In 1628 this establishment was in a flourishing condition, and Champlain believed it

[1] All that relates to the formation of the Company of New France is contained in a series of documents entitled, *Edits, Ordonnances royaux.* The first document is entitled, *Compagnie du Canada, establie sous le titre de Nouvelle France, par les articles du vingt-neuf auril et sept May, mil six cens vingt-sept.* We find it in the *Mercure François* (t. xiv., part ii., p. 232) and also in the *Mémoires sur les possessions Françoises en Amérique* (t. iii., pp. 3, 4, and 5). This document is double, the first containing twenty articles, and the second thirty-one, which essentially differ. The act of April 29th, 1627, exposes the designs which had engaged the king to establish a new company, its obligations, and the advantages which it will get from Canada. The act of May 7th is the deed of association, which contains the whole organization of the company, its rules, and all that concerns the administration of

would ultimately prove of great value to the inhabitants. The colony in the meantime had to rely upon the mother country for provisions, and for flour which could not be produced in Canada.

The new company sent out four vessels in 1628 under the command of Claude de Roquemont, laden with provisions, munitions, and a number of men. This first shipment cost 164,720 livres or about $33,000 of our currency. This large outlay was proof that the associates were determined to maintain the new Canadian settlement. The fleet sailed from Dieppe on May 3rd, and arrived at Percé about the middle of July. During the voyage Roquemont was often exposed to the attacks of the English and Dutch vessels, but he preferred to alter his course rather than to fight. The vessels stopped at the Island of Anticosti, where the crews landed, and planted a cross in token of their gratitude to God, who had protected them.

its funds The acceptation of the articles of April 29th, 1628, was officially known by an act passed on August 5th, 1628, and the acceptation of the articles of May 7th took place on August 6th, of the same year. These articles had been confirmed by an order-in-council, on May 6th, 1628, at La Rochelle. On the same day Louis XIII had issued patents confirming the order-in-council. On May 18th Richelieu had ratified the articles of April 29th and of May 7th.

These various documents were published in 1628, one part of them in the *Mercure François*, and the other in a pamphlet, large in quarto of twenty-three pages. The list of the Hundred Associates was also printed in a small pamphlet of eight pages, bearing as title : *Noms, surnoms et Qualitez des Associez En la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, suyvant les jours et dates de leurs signatures.*

Some days afterwards they reached Percé, and a little later entered Gaspé Bay. Roquemont was here informed by the savages that five large English vessels were anchored in Tadousac harbour. It was the fleet of David Kirke,[1] who was going to make an assault on Quebec, after having devastated the Acadian coast. Roquemont at once sent Thierry-Desdames to St. Barnabé Island, where he had intended to go himself. Roquemont left Gaspé on July 15th, 1628, and proceeded up the St. Lawrence, hoping that he would be able to escape his powerful enemies, as the French vessels were not properly armed for a regular fight. Unhappily, on the eighteenth the French came within cannon shot of the British fleet. For a period of fourteen hours the vessels cannonaded each other, and over twelve hundred shots were exchanged. The French having exhausted their stock of balls used the lead of their fishing poles instead. Finally Roquemont perceived

[1] About the year 1596 Gervase Kirke, of Norton, county of Derby, married Elizabeth Goudon, of Dieppe, and had issue five boys and two girls. The eldest boy was named David, the second son was Louis; and the third, Thomas; the fourth, John; and the fifth, James. In the year 1629 David was thirty-two years of age, Louis was thirty, and Thomas twenty-six years of age. These are the three heroes of the Quebec assault.

Gervase Kirke was a member of the Company of Adventurers, and he died on December 17th, 1629. In 1637 David received as a concession the New-found-land. After some difficulties which he had to suffer, David Kirke died in the year 1656. His widow claimed the sum of £60,000 for the part that the Kirkes had taken in bringing about the capitulation of Quebec, but the king paid no attention to these claims, and the Kirke family became poor.

that his vessel was sinking, and asked for a compromise. It was decided that no penalties should be exacted, and that the English admiral should take possession of the ships. The French crews were taken on board the British vessels, which continued their route for England. The British commander soon realized that he had too many persons on board, and some of the families and the Récollet fathers were put off on the Island of St. Peter. Among the families were a Parisian named Le Faucheur, who with his wife and five children were bound for Quebec, Robert Giffard, surgeon, his wife and three girls, and fifteen or sixteen sailors. Kirke left them to the mercy of God on this island with some provisions and a small Basque vessel.

The Basques who were hidden in the mountains came down upon the French after the English were out of sight, and threatened to kill them if they attempted to escape in their vessel. They at last agreed to allow them to go elsewhere in consideration of a certain amount of biscuit and cider. They all embarked in a frail shallop, and eventually arrived at Plaisance on the coast of Newfoundland, where some French fishermen conducted them to France.

Some writers have blamed Roquemont for avoiding a fight. His conduct is pardonable, however, to a certain extent, because his mission was not one of war, but to carry provisions to the colony, and he had armed his vessels only for any ordinary attack.

Others, like Champlain, thought that Roquemont had unnecessarily exposed himself, and blame him for the following reasons :—(1.) The equipment was made out for helping the fort and habitation of Quebec. In going forward Roquemont not only exposed himself to a loss, but also the whole country, that is to say about one hundred persons who were in distress. (2.) At Gaspé he was made aware that the English admiral had proceeded up the St. Lawrence in command of a fleet much more powerful than his own. He ought, therefore, to have taken the advice of his mariners in order to ascertain whether there was not a safe harbour along the coast which would have seemed a safe retreat. (3.) After having put his vessels in such a harbour, Roquemont ought to have sent a well equipped shallop to observe every movement of the enemy, and await his departure before going higher up the river. (4.) If Roquemont desired to fight, he ought to have laden the *Flibot* with flour and gunpowder, and placed on board the women and children, and this small ship, which was sailing fast, could have escaped to Quebec during the fight. Champlain, in setting forth these views, is probably just, for the merit of a captain is not only in his courage, but also in his prudence. Nothing remained of the expedition under Roquemont, which was undertaken with so much courage, and at so much expense. It is certain that if he had been able to reach Quebec with his vessels, David Kirke would not have risked,

in the following year, the capture of the habitation of Quebec.

The king of England had granted letters patent to the Company of Adventurers which authorized them to trade, plant, seize Spanish and French vessels, and to destroy the forts of New France. By a singular coincidence the king of France had established the Company of the Hundred Associates at the same time, and they were thus constituted masters of commerce in Canada and Acadia.

Sir William Alexander had equipped three vessels, to which he had appointed David Kirke and his two brothers as captains. They stopped for a time at Newfoundland, and then taking the gulf and river St. Lawrence, they anchored at Tadousac, as we have already seen, during the first days of July, 1628. The news of Kirke's arrival soon reached Champlain, through an Indian named Napagabiscou, or Tregatin, who came in haste to Cape Tourmente. Foucher, the chief of the farmers, proceeded at once to Quebec to confirm the news, and also to inform Champlain that the establishment had been burnt, his cattle destroyed, and all the inhabitants taken prisoners. The prisoners were brought back to Quebec some days after in the custody of six Basques, who delivered to Champlain the following letter:

"MESSIEURS:—I give you notice that I have received a commission from the king of Great Britain, my honoured lord and master, to take possession of

the countries of Canada and Acadia, and for that purpose eighteen ships have been despatched, each taking the route ordered by His Majesty. I have already seized the habitation of Miscou, and all boats and pinnaces on that coast, as well as those of Tadousac, where I am presently at anchor. You are also informed that among the vessels that I have seized, there is one belonging to the new company, commanded by a certain Noyrot, which was coming to you with provisions and goods for the trade. The Sieur de la Tour was also on board, whom I have taken into my ship. I was preparing to seek you, but thought it better to send boats to destroy and seize your cattle at Cape Tourmente; for I know that, when you are straightened for supplies, I shall the more easily obtain my desire, which is, to have your settlement; and in order that no vessels shall reach you, I have resolved to remain here till the end of the season, in order that you may not be re-victualled. Therefore see what you wish to do, if you intend to deliver up the settlement or not, for, God aiding, sooner or later I must have it. I would desire, for your sake, that it should be by courtesy rather than by force, to avoid the blood which might be spilt on both sides. By surrendering courteously, you may be assured of all kinds of contentment, both for your persons and for your property, which on the faith that I have in Paradise, I will preserve as I would my own, without the least portion in the world being diminished.

The Basques whom I send you are men of the vessels that I have captured, and they can tell you the state of affairs between France and England, and even how matters are passing in France, touching the new company of this country. Send me word what you desire to do, and if you wish to treat with me about this affair, send me a person to that effect, whom, I assure you, I will treat with all kinds of attention, and I will grant all reasonable demands that you may desire in resolving to give up the settlement. Waiting your reply, I remain, messieurs, your affectionate servant,

"DAVID QUER.

"On board the *Vicaille*, July 18th, 1628, and addressed to Monsieur Champlain, Commandant at Quebec."

Champlain read that letter to Pont-Gravé and to the chief inhabitants. After mature deliberation, it was resolved that Champlain should answer Kirke with dignity and firmness, but should not give any idea of the poor state of Quebec. "We concluded," says Champlain, "that if Kirke wished to see us he had better come, and not threaten from such a distance. That we did not in the least doubt the fact of Kirke having the commission of his king, as great princes always select men of brave and generous courage."

Champlain acknowledged the intelligence of the capture of Father Noyrot and de la Tour, and also the truth of the observation that the more pro-

visions there were in a fortress the better it could hold out, still it could be maintained with but little, provided good order were kept; therefore, being still furnished with grain, maize, beans and pease, (besides what the country could supply) which his soldiers loved as well as the finest corn in the world, by surrendering the fort in so good a condition, he would be unworthy to appear before his sovereign, and would deserve chastisement before God and men. He was sure that Kirke would respect him much more for defending himself than for abandoning his charge, without first making trial of the English guns and batteries. Champlain concludes by saying that he would expect his attack, and oppose, as well as he could, all attempts that might be made against the place. The noble language of Champlain's letter made a deep impression on Kirke, and he deemed it prudent to start for Europe. Before leaving Tadousac, David Kirke destroyed all the captured French barques, with the exception of the largest, which he took to Europe. Since leaving England he had doubled the number of his vessels, having taken away all that he could from the habitation of Miscou and other seaports frequented by the French.

The news of the departure of the English fleet took some days to reach Quebec, where the minds of the inhabitants were divided between hope and fear. Champlain was determined to await the arrival of the enemy, and to defend Quebec, without con-

sidering its weakness. Every one began to work to construct new intrenchments around the habitation, and to barricade the road which led to the fort. Each was given a post in the event of an attack, and a defence was determined upon. Later on Champlain was informed of Roquemont's fate and of Kirke's departure.

The English were, indeed, well compensated for their abandonment of Quebec, for the seizure of the vessels and their provisions was equivalent to the capture of the French colony, since famine threatened them sooner or later. In attacking Quebec Kirke, indeed, would have met with but little opposition, because every one was suffering. Those who were unable to live from the product of their own lands, were compelled to ask assistance from the trade agents. Champlain ordered a distribution of pease to be made to each person indiscriminately. The Récollets refused any assistance, and they passed the whole winter subsisting on corn and vegetables of their own cultivation. Champlain succeeded in building a mill for grinding pease. The eel fisheries were productive, and the Indians bought from the French six eels for a beaver skin. In the midst of these perplexities Champlain realized that unless assistance was forthcoming in the spring, it would be advisable for him to accept an honourable capitulation, and to send all the French who wished to return to their country, either to Gaspé or to Miscou.

As soon as the snow had disappeared in the spring of the year 1629, Champlain caused all the arable land to be sown. By the end of May his stock of provisions was nearly exhausted, and he therefore decided to send Desdames to Gaspé with a group of the inhabitants. Hubou, Desportes and Pivert took passage on Desdames' barque, hoping to meet a French vessel at Gaspé. One month later Desdames returned, and confirmed the news that the English vessels had devastated the Acadian coast, and burnt the habitations. Neither Desdames nor his party had seen any French vessel in the gulf, but they had met Iuan Chou, a friend of Champlain, who had agreed to give hospitality to twenty persons, including Pont-Gravé, by whom he was greatly esteemed. The latter was still suffering from gout, and it was with some reluctance that he agreed to leave his position as first clerk, empowered by Guillaume de Caën to take care of the merchandise. Des Marets, who was Pont-Gravé's grandson, accepted his position in the interim.

Before leaving Quebec Pont-Gravé desired Champlain to read publicly the commission which he had received from Guillaume de Caën. After grand mass on June 17th Champlain read Pont-Gravé's commission and his own in the presence of all the people, and he added some words, by which it was easily understood that the king's authority had to be superior to Guillaume de Caën's commissions. Pont-Gravé replied at once : "I see that you believe

in the nullity of my commission!" "Yes," replied Champlain, "when it comes in conflict with the king's and the viceroy's authority." This petty dispute had no serious consequence, as it was evident that Pont-Gravé, being only the first clerk of Guillaume de Caën, had no other authority than to take care of the peltry and merchandise belonging to his chief.

Before turning their attention to Canada Guillaume and Emery de Caën had belonged to a large company trading with the East Indies. Both were Calvinists. Sagard writes that Guillaume was polite, liberal, and of good understanding. This testimony seems somewhat exaggerated, as we have many proofs of his niggardliness. His nephew Emery was frank, liberal and open to conviction, and was always kindly disposed towards the Jesuits. Guillaume de Caën was the commodore of the fleet equipped by his associates. His greatest fault appears to have been that he neglected Champlain and the colony, and for that reason he should share the responsibility of not having prevented the capitulation of Quebec. However, it is scarcely fair to say of him that he worked directly against the French in New France. After the capitulation of 1629, Cardinal Richelieu wrote of him to the French ambassador in London: "Please examine his actions. Being a Huguenot, and having been much displeased with the new company of Canada, I have entertained a suspicion that he connived with the English. I have

not a sure knowledge of it, but you will please me if you inform me of his conduct."

This suspicion seems unfounded, because Guillaume de Caën was personally interested in the fate of Quebec. His merchandise which was seized by Kirke was valued at about forty thousand écus. If he had made some agreement with Kirke he would have had no difficulty in recovering his goods after the capitulation, but such was not the case.

As to Emery de Caën we must say that he took an active part in the defence of the colony, and perhaps he might have saved Quebec, had not one of his sailors committed a grave imprudence at a critical juncture. The facts are as follows: The Treaty of Suze, which was signed on April 24th, 1629, had established peace between France and England. Being aware of this fact Emery de Caën equipped a vessel for the purpose of bringing back to France all the furs and merchandise which were the property of his uncle. When he arrived near the Escoumins a dense fog obscured the coast, and his vessel ran aground on Red Island, opposite Tadousac. Having succeeded in floating his ship, de Caën went to Chafaud aux Basques, two leagues above Tadousac. Here he was informed that the Kirke brothers were at Tadousac, and he at once made for Mal Bay, where he was informed that Champlain had capitulated. This news lacked confirmation, and so he sent two emissaries to Quebec, who instead of proceeding directly there, amused

themselves on the shore of the river at Cape Tourmente. They finally arrived at their destination, and were badly received by Guillaume Couillard.

In the meantime Thomas Kirke was sailing down from Quebec to Tadousac, after the capitulation of the stronghold, and meeting de Caën's vessel approached within cannon shot. A fight began, and soon both vessels were stopped by Kirke's order. Previous to this, Champlain and all the French who were on board had been sent below deck, the covers of which had been fastened with large nails, so that they were unable to render any assistance to Emery de Caën, even if they had desired to. The battle continued under some difficulties, and the vessels were grappled only by their foremasts. Kirke's position was becoming untenable, but by a singular blunder instead of being defeated he was allowed to become the master. One of Emery de Caën's sailors having cried "*Quartier! Quartier!*" or Surrender! Kirke hurriedly answered, "*Bon quartier*, and I promise your life safe, and I shall treat you as I did Champlain, whom I bring with me." Hearing these words the French hesitated, laid down their arms, and soon perceived Champlain on the deck. Kirke had released him from his temporary jail, threatening him with death if he did not order Emery de Caën to cease his fire. Then Champlain said: "It would be easy to kill me, being in your power. But you do not deserve honour for having broken your word. You have promised to treat me

with consideration. I cannot command these people, neither prevent them from doing their duty, in defending themselves. You must praise them instead of blaming them." Champlain asked them to surrender willingly. They were wise in doing so, as two English *pataches* soon arrived which would have settled the fight.

Emery de Caën, and Jacques Couillard de l'Espinay, his lieutenant, took passage on Kirke's vessel, and submitted themselves to the enemy's conditions. De Caën was compelled to abandon his ship, which was full of provisions intended for Quebec. In less than two hours every hope of fur trading had disappeared. De Caën had lost not only his vessel, but also five hundred beaver skins and some merchandise for traffic. This loss was valued at fifty-one thousand francs. Emery de Caën returned to France. He came back to Quebec in the year 1631, with permission from Richelieu to treat with the Indians. But the English commander expressly forbade the trade, and placed guardians on his vessel during the period of trading.

## CHAPTER X

### THE CAPITULATION OF QUEBEC, 1629

WE have somewhat anticipated events, so we now retrace our steps, and place ourselves within Champlain's defenceless stronghold as its fatal hour approached. On Thursday, July 19th, 1629, a savage named La Nasse by the French, and Manitougatche by his own people, informed the Jesuits that three English ships were in sight off the Island of Orleans, behind Point Lévis, and that six other vessels were anchored at Tadousac. Champlain was already aware that some ships were at Tadousac, but he was surprised to learn that the enemy had approached Quebec, and at first he thought that they might be French ships. There was no one in Fort St. Louis at the time he received this news, as every one had gone out in search of plants which were used as food ; he therefore sent for Father Le Caron and the Jesuits to consult with them as to what measures should be taken. In the meantime the English fleet was steadily approaching, and at length drew up at a certain distance from the city. A shallop was then sent out from the admiral's ship, carrying at her mainmast a white flag. Champlain caused a similar flag to be run up over the fort, and Kirke's emis-

sary came ashore and presented to Champlain the following letter :—

"MONSIEUR:—In consequence of what our brother told you last year that sooner or later he would have Quebec, if not succoured, he has charged us to assure you of his friendship as we do of ours ; and knowing very well the extreme need of everything in which you are, desires that you shall surrender the fort and the settlement to us, assuring you of every kind of courtesy for you and yours, and also of honourable and reasonable terms, such as you may wish. Waiting your reply, we remain, monsieur, your very affectionate servants,

"LOUIS AND THOMAS QUER.

"On board the *Flibot*, this July 19th, 1629."

Champlain immediately prepared his answer, the terms of which had previously been agreed upon by the fathers. Kirke's representative did not understand a word of the French language, but he had a fair knowledge of Latin. Father de la Roche d'Aillon was therefore requested by Champlain to act as interpreter, and he asked the following questions :—"Is war declared between France and England?" "No," replied the English representative. "Why, then, do you come here to trouble us if our princes live in peace?" he was asked.

Champlain then requested Father de la Roche to go aboard the English vessels to ascertain from the chiefs what they intended to do. The interview between Father de la Roche and Louis Kirke was

courteous, but the answers of the latter were far from being satisfactory. "If Champlain," said the English captain, "gives up the keys of the fortress and of the habitation we promise to convey you all to France, and will treat you well; if not we will oblige him by force." Father de la Roche tried to obtain fifteen days' delay, or even eight days, but it was of no avail.

"Sir," said Louis Kirke, "I well know your miserable condition. Your people have gone out to pick up roots in order to avoid starvation, for we have captured Master Boullé and some other Frenchmen whom we have retained as prisoners at Tadousac, and from whom we have ascertained the condition of the inhabitants of Quebec."

"Give us a delay of eight days," said Father de la Roche. "No," replied Thomas Kirke, "I shall at once ruin the fort with my cannon." "I desire to sleep to-night in the fort," added his brother Louis, "and, if not, I shall devastate the whole country." "Proceed slowly," said Father de la Roche, "for you are deceived if you believe you will easily gain the fort. There are a hundred men there well armed and ready to sell their lives dearly. Perchance you will find your death in this enterprise, for I assure you that the inhabitants are determined to fight, and they derive courage from the conviction that your invasion is unjust, and that their lives and property are at stake. Once more I warn you that an attack might prove dangerous to you."

Captain Louis Kirke seemed a little disheartened on hearing this firm and vigorous language. After having consulted the chief officers of his fleet he asked Father de la Roche to attend a council of war at which an ultimatum was presented in these words:—"Champlain must surrender at once, but he shall have the privilege of dictating the terms of capitulation." Three hours were granted within which his reply was to be given. The Récollets were promised protection, but no conditions were accorded to the Jesuits, as it was the admiral's intention to visit their convent, which he believed to contain a quantity of beaver skins.

Father de la Roche returned to Fort St. Louis, and gave an account of his interview. It was plainly evident that it would be useless to rely upon delays in the face of an enemy determined to see the end of the affair. Food was almost exhausted, and it was calculated that there were not more than ten pounds of flour in Quebec, and not more than fifty pounds of gunpowder, which was of inferior quality. Opposition would have been not only useless, but ridiculous. Champlain realized this, and at once resolved to surrender.

Champlain drew up the following articles of capitulation, which were forwarded to the Kirke brothers:—

"That Quer (Kirke) should produce his commission from the king of England to prove that war actually existed between England and France; and

also to show the power of his brothers, who commanded the fleet, to act in the king's name.

"That a vessel should be provided to convey Champlain, his companions, the missionaries, both Jesuits and Récollets, the two Indian girls that had been given to him two years before, and all other persons, to France.

"That the religious and other people should be allowed to leave with arms and baggage, and all their furniture, and that a sufficient supply of provisions for the passage to France should be granted in exchange for peltry, etc.

"That all should have the most favourable treatment possible, without violence to any.

"That the ship in which they were to embark for France should be ready in three days after their arrival at Tadousac, and a vessel provided for the transport of their goods, etc., to that place."

These articles were signed by Champlain and Pont-Gravé. After having read them Louis Kirke sent this answer: "That Kirke's commission should be shown and his powers to his brothers for trading purposes. As to providing a vessel to take Champlain and his people direct to France, that could not be done, but they would give them passage to England, and from there to France, whereby they would avoid being again taken by any English cruiser on their route. For the sauvagesses, that clause could not be granted, for reasons which would be explained. As to leaving with arms and

baggage, the officers might take with them their arms, clothes, and peltries belonging to them, and the soldiers might have their clothes and a beaver robe each. As for the holy fathers, they must be contented with their robes and books.

"L. KIRKE.

"THOMAS KIRKE.

"The said articles granted to Champlain and Du Pont, I accept and ratify them, and I promise that they shall be executed from point to point. Done at Tadousac, August 19th (new style), 1629.

"DAVID KIRKE."

The clause forbidding the soldiers to take their arms, coats and peltry, excepting a castor robe, was a severe trial to them, as many of them had bought skins from the Hurons to the extent of seven to eight hundred francs, and preferred to fight rather than lose their fortune.

Champlain had agreed to capitulate without firing. Some openly reproached Champlain, saying that it was not the fear of death that actuated his course, but rather the loss of the thousand livres, which the English had agreed to give him if he abandoned Quebec without striking a blow.

Champlain was informed of all the murmurs and discontent which were expressed amongst his people by a young Greek, who was charged to inform him that they did not wish to surrender, and even if they lost their fort, they desired to prove to the English that they were full of courage. Champlain

was annoyed at these exhibitions of insubordination, and he instructed the Greek to give the people this answer:—"You are badly advised and unwise. How can you desire resistance when we have no provisions, no ammunition, or any prospect of relief? Are you tired of living, or do you expect to be victorious under such circumstances? Obey those who desire your safety and who do nothing without prudence."

Brother Sagard makes these remarks upon the condition of affairs:—"It is true that there was a great scarcity of all things necessary for the habitation, but the enemy, too, were weak, as Father Joseph perceived after having examined the whole crew, which consisted of about two hundred soldiers, for the most part, men who had never touched a musket, and who could have been killed as ducks or who would have run away. Moreover they were in a wretched condition, and of a low order. The weather was favourable to the French, as the tide was low, and the wind from the south-east was driving the vessels towards France, so that there was no assurance for either the vessels or the barques. Champlain, however, deemed it more expedient to surrender than to run the risk of his own life or of being made a prisoner while defending a fort so badly armed."

If, as the veracious Brother Sagard says, the fort and the habitation were distressed, it is not proved that the English could be easily defeated. There

were at Quebec only fifty men capable of bearing arms, and only a small quantity of gunpowder in store, while provisions were absolutely wanting. How was it possible to sustain a siege without ammunition, without bread and without soldiers ?

On the enemy's side there were two vessels well equipped, and two hundred men. If the men were desperate or wretched, they would be the more dangerous. Even supposing that the two vessels had proved insufficient for a protracted siege, the four vessels at the disposal of David Kirke would have surely come to their assistance.

It would have been a foolish act to have resisted such a powerful enemy. Besides, Champlain had another foe to contend against, for Nicholas Marsolet, Étienne Brûlé, Pierre Reye, and others, had betrayed him, and were leagued with Kirke. Champlain understood the difficulties of his position, and his responsibilities, for he had in his hands the lives of one hundred persons.

Of the eighty persons living in Quebec at this time, only two-thirds had private interests to safeguard, and it was a matter of indifference to them whether they remained in Canada or whether they returned to France. The families who had nothing to gain by leaving Quebec were those who deserved the governor's sympathy, and it was for their safety that Champlain would not agree to offer resistance, as the result must have proved disastrous to them. By the articles of capitulation these families would

be able to live quietly at home, awaiting the issue of negotiations.

On the day following the preliminaries, Champlain went on board Louis Kirke's vessel, where he was to see the commission of Charles I, which empowered the Kirke brothers to take Quebec and the whole country by assault. Both parties then signed the articles of capitulation, and the English troops, conducted by Champlain, came in shallops near to the habitation. The keys were delivered to Louis Kirke, and then they all proceeded to the fort, which was delivered to the admiral. Quebec was definitely put under the authority of the English, who had not fired a single shot. Louis Kirke placed Le Baillif, who had been dismissed by Guillaume de Caën for his bad conduct, in charge of the storehouse. This was the first reward for his treason. Champlain asked the English commander to protect the chapel of Quebec, the convents, and the houses of the widow of Louis Hébert and of her son-in-law, Guillaume Couillard, and he offered him the keys of his own room within the fort. Louis Kirke refused to accept the latter, and left Champlain in possession of his room. This courteous action was followed by another one, when Kirke delivered to Champlain a certificate of all that he had found within the fort and the habitation. This document was found useful later on, when it was necessary to settle the value of the goods.

In the meantime the English crew robbed the convent of the Jesuits, but they did not find the beaver skins, as they expected. Kirke and the Lutheran minister took for their own use the nicest volumes of the library, and three or four pictures. The Récollets had filled a leather bag with the ornaments of their church, and had hidden it underground, far in the woods, thinking that they might return sooner or later.

On the Sunday following the capitulation, July 22nd, Louis Kirke hoisted the English flag over one of the bastions of the fort, and in order to render the official possession of Quebec more imposing, he placed his soldiers in ranks along the ramparts, and at a precise hour a volley was fired from English muskets. In the afternoon, Champlain, the Jesuits, and the greater number of the French took passage on the *Flibot* for Tadousac, leaving behind the families of Couillard, Martin, Desportes, Hébert, Hubou, Pivert, Duchesne the surgeon, some interpreters and clerks, and Pont-Gravé, who was too sick to leave his room. It was understood that all those who desired to return to France should start on the day fixed by Kirke.

The fate of the colony was thus decided. Those who had any authority, by reason of their character or their official mission, were compelled to leave. The others were at liberty to remain, especially the interpreters, who would be useful in trading with

the Indians. Before Champlain's departure, some had taken his advice. Would they remain in Quebec under a new régime, with nothing to hope for? Who was this victorious Kirke, so captivating in appearance? Perhaps a lion clothed with the skin of a lamb! They knew the Kirke brothers had been guilty of burning the habitation at Cape Tourmente. Knowing that they were Protestants, they could not expect sympathy on the score of religion. A danger existed from every point of view. Nevertheless, Champlain advised many of them to remain at Quebec in order to save their property. The only objection was that they would be obliged to observe their religion for an indefinite time without the ministrations of their priests.

Three years were to elapse before a French vessel again appeared at Quebec, with authority to hoist the white flag of France. Champlain's advice was not prejudicial to any one, at least not in temporal matters. This small nucleus became the great tree whose branches and leaves extend to-day over the whole American continent. If France had seen the complete depopulation of Canada, perhaps the king would not have made the same efforts to have his colony restored. Champlain himself, in spite of his great zeal and his love for the country which he had founded, had been discouraged by the difficulties. He could foresee better than any other the obstacles which the future would present, and it caused him much uneasiness, and offered little consolation. At

his age most men would have preferred to rest after an agitated life of thirty years, in the pursuit of an idea which it seemed impossible to realize on account of the manifold difficulties by which it was constantly beset.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE LAST EVENTS OF 1629

"SINCE the English have taken possession of Quebec," writes Champlain, "the days have seemed to me as long as months." This dreariness is easily explained. The unsettled state of affairs, of which he was an eye-witness, had rendered his life at Quebec intolerable. Louis Kirke, however, treated him with respect and courtesy, and had given him permission to bring to Tadousac his two adopted girls, Espérance and Charité. It was a favour wholly unexpected, especially as by one of the clauses of the act of capitulation he renounced claim to them. Champlain, however, was ready to buy their liberty, if necessary, as he wished to civilize them and convert them to Christianity. Having no desire to stay longer in a place where even the beauties of the sunset seemed to remind him of his humiliation, Champlain only resided temporarily at Tadousac, and was anxious to reach France. He left Quebec on July 24th, and on the following day he perceived a vessel sailing near Murray Bay. This was Emery de Caën's ship, which, as we have already stated, was proceeding to Quebec to claim the peltry in the storehouse which belonged to his uncle. This vessel, as has

been described, was captured by Kirke, and the same fate happened to Captain Daniel, who had crossed the ocean from Dieppe with four vessels and a barque laden with provisions and ammunition. Having heard on the passage that a Scottish fisherman named James Stuart, had erected a fort on Cape Breton, in a place called Port-aux-Baleines, to protect his countrymen during the fishing season, Daniel went out of his way to destroy this fort, and to build one at Grand Cibou to check the intruders, instead of proceeding directly to Quebec, as was his duty. He left at this place forty men and two Jesuits, Father Vimont and Father de Vieux-Pont, and then having set up the arms of France, he returned to his country without having taken any care of the Quebec habitation. This was his first fault, but nevertheless it was a great misfortune.

The Jesuits had prepared at a great expense a shipment for Quebec. Father Noyrot brought with him Father Charles Lalemant, who was returning after an absence of nearly two years, Father de Vieux-Pont, Brother Louis Malot and twenty-four persons. Driven by a terrible storm, their barque was wrecked near the Island of Canseau. Fourteen were drowned, including Father Noyrot and Brother Malot. The others miraculously escaped.

The Chevalier de Razilly was finally ordered to assist Quebec, but it was found that an agreement had been concluded between France and England

on April 24th. Razilly had his commission cancelled and proceeded to Morocco.

The failure of these three expeditions, together with that of Emery de Caën, occurring at the same time under unfortunate circumstances, resulted in the loss of the colony for France, and won at least temporary prestige and importance for the Kirke family.

Champlain relates some remarkable events during his sojourn at Tadousac. Religious fanaticism displayed itself in its worst form. The French had with them Father de Brébeuf, who was quite competent and willing to champion the cause of the Catholic faith, and especially when assailed by his own countrymen. A French Huguenot, named Jacques Michel, apparently headed a crusade against the Jesuits. One day Michel said to a party that the Jesuits had come to Canada to annoy the Sieurs de Caën in their trade. "I beg your pardon," replied the father, "we had no other design in coming here than the glory of God and the conversion of the savages." To which Jacques Michel answered still more audaciously: "Yes, convert the savages, say rather, convert the beavers." "It is false," replied the priest, somewhat vexed. Michel, who was angry, raised his arm to strike the father, at the same time saying, "If I were not restrained by the respect due to my chief, I would slap your face for your denial." "I ask your pardon," said the father, "it was not in my mind to injure you, and if my answer has

vexed you, I regret it." Michel was not satisfied and began to blaspheme, so that Champlain was scandalized, and said: "You swear much for a Reformer." "It is true," replied the Huguenot, "but I am furious against this Jesuit for his denial, and if I hang to-morrow I will give him the blows he deserves." During the day, however, Michel drank heavily and was attacked by apoplexy, from which he died thirty-five hours later, without exhibiting any signs of repentance.

The commander Kirke appears to have acted somewhat strangely on this occasion, for instead of having Michel quietly buried, he ordered a splendid funeral, accompanied with military honours. When the remains were lowered into the grave, a salute of eighty guns was fired, as if the deceased had been an officer of high rank. Whatever may have been the reasons for showing these tokens of honour to the remains of Michel, we know not, but the savages seem to have resented the proceedings, for they unearthed his body and gave it to the dogs. Michel had been a traitor to his country and to his God, and this was the method of his punishment.

We have already mentioned the names of the Frenchmen who betrayed Champlain, particularly Étienne Brûlé, Le Baillif, Pierre Reye and Marsolet. Let us examine their conduct. Étienne Brûlé, in his capacity of interpreter, had rendered many good services to his compatriots. Unfortunately, his private actions while dwelling with the Hurons

were not above reproach, and he would certainly have been compelled to expiate his offences had he not been adopted as one of their family. Brûlé worked for the benefit of the Hurons, and their gratitude towards a good officer perhaps outweighed their memory of an injury. On retiring from the Huron country in 1629, Brûlé went to Tadousac, where he entered the service of Kirke, and some years after he was killed by a savage.

Marsolet's case is nearly identical with that of Brûlé, although it is not proved that he was as licentious during the time that he lived with the Algonquins. He and Brûlé asserted that they were compelled by Kirke to serve under the British flag. Champlain severely blamed their conduct, saying: "Remember that God will punish you if you do not amend your lives. You have lost your honour. Wherever you will go, men will point at you, saying: 'These are the men who have threatened their king and sold their country.' It would be preferable to die than to live on in this manner, as you will suffer the remorse of a bad conscience." To this they replied: "We well know that in France we should be hanged. We are sorry for what has happened, but it is done and we must drain the cup to the bottom, and resolve never to return to France." Champlain answered them: "If you are captured anywhere, you will run the risk of being chastised as you deserve."

Nicholas Marsolet became a good citizen, and his

family alliances were the most honourable. Pierre Reye, a carriage maker, was a bad character, "One of the worst traitors, and wicked." His treason did not surprise any one, and nothing better was expected of him. Le Baillif was not only vicious, but a thief. On the night after the seizure by Kirke of the goods in store, he took from the room of Corneille de Vendremur, a clerk, one hundred livres in gold and money, a silver cup and some silk stockings. He was suspected of having stolen from the chapel of the Lower Town, a silver chalice, the gift of Anne of Austria. Though he was a Catholic, Le Baillif ate food on days of abstinence, in order to please the Protestants. He treated the French as if they were dogs. "I shall abandon him," says Champlain, "to his fate, awaiting the day of his punishment for his swearings, cursings and impieties."

The treachery of these four men greatly affected Champlain, who was at a loss to understand how those to whom he had given food and shelter could be so ungrateful; but their conduct, however reprehensible, played no part in the loss of the colony. Kirke employed them to further his purposes without giving them any substantial reward.

The sojourn of the French in Tadousac lasted many weeks, and the delay caused Champlain much annoyance. David Kirke spent ten or twelve days on his visit to Quebec, where he wanted to see for himself how his brother Louis had disposed of

everything, and what advantage he was likely to gain from the acquisition of the new country. Believing himself to be the supreme ruler and master of New France, he outlined a brilliant future for the colony, looking forward to the day when he could bring settlers to take advantage of its natural resources.

Returning to Tadousac, the general invited his captains to a dinner, at which Champlain was also a guest. The dinner was served in a tent surrounded with branches. Towards the end of the banquet David Kirke gave Champlain a letter from Marsolet to inform him that the chief savages, gathered at Three Rivers in council, had resolved to keep with them the two girls, Espérance and Charité. This was a severe trial to Champlain, who had hoped to be able to take them to France. All his efforts, however, were useless, as there was a plot organized by the traitor Marsolet. These children loved Champlain as a father, and were inconsolable when they realized that their departure for France was impossible.

Champlain relates many things that do not redound to Kirke's credit, amongst other things that Kirke blamed his brother Louis for giving the Jesuits permission to say mass, and afterwards refused the permission. Again, at the moment when the Jesuits embarked for Tadousac, Louis Kirke ordered a trunk to be opened in which the sacred vessels were contained. Seeing a box which contained a chalice Kirke

tried to seize it, but Father Massé interfered, and said to him: "This is a sacred object, do not profane it, if you please." "Why," said Kirke, "we have no faith in your superstition," and so saying he took the chalice in his hands, braving the Jesuit's advice. The Catholics were also denied the privilege of praying in public. This intolerant action was condemned by Champlain. During their stay at Tadousac Champlain and the admiral went out shooting. They killed more than two thousand larks, plovers, snipes and curlews. In the meantime the sailors had cut trees for masts, and some birch which they took to England. They also carried with them four thousand five hundred and forty beaver skins, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen others seized at Quebec, and four hundred and thirty-two elk skins. The French had not given up all their skins; some had hidden a good many, and others kept them with Kirke's consent. The Récollets and the Jesuits were returning poorer than when they came. Champlain alone was allowed to retain all his baggage. At the commencement of September the admiral fitted out a medium sized barque with provisions for Quebec, with instructions to bring back the Récollets who were scattered throughout the country, and also some of the French who had intended to remain at Quebec and other places.

On September 14th the English fleet set out carrying Champlain, the Jesuits, the Récollets, and two-thirds of the French, that is to say, nearly the

whole of the colony. The passage was short though difficult, and eleven of the crew died from dysentery. On October 20th the vessels reached Plymouth, where Kirke was much disappointed to learn that the treaty of peace signed on April 24th had been confirmed on September 16th. All the French, except Champlain, took passage for France at Dover. Champlain proceeded directly to London, where he met the French ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf, and related to him the events which had taken place in Canada, and urged him to take steps for its restoration to France.

The fathers disembarked at Calais at the end of October. Father Massé returned to his former position of minister at the college of La Flèche. Father Anne de Noüe went to Bourges. Father de Brébeuf entered the college of Rouen, where he had laboured previously, and three other Jesuits whom we find afterwards in Canada, Father Charles Lalemant, Father Jogues and Father Simon Lemoyne, were at that time professors in this college. Father Massé and Father de Brébeuf were soon to resume their ministration in this country, which they were forced to abandon at a time when they had hoped to see the realization of their noble mission. L'Abbé Faillon has written that the family of Hébert alone remained at Quebec after the surrender, but this is incorrect. The truth is that at least five families remained in Quebec. It was God's will that the most prominent and influential men

should leave for France, but He also ordained that a few heroic settlers or possessors of New France should remain. If their remaining was favourable to France Champlain deserves the credit, for he did more than any of his countrymen to bring it about. The population of Quebec or of the whole colony in July, 1629, was divided as follows:—Inhabitants, twenty-three; interpreters, eleven; clerks, fourteen; missionaries, ten; domestics, seven; French, arrived from the Huron country, twenty. This makes a total number of eighty-five persons.

The following persons remained at Quebec:—Guillaume Hubou and his wife, Marie Rollet, widow of Louis Hébert; Guillaume Hébert; Guillaume Couillard, and his wife Guillemette Hébert, and their three children; Abraham Martin, and his wife, Marguerite Langlois, and their three children; Pierre Desportes, and his wife, Françoise Langlois, and their daughter Hélène; Nicholas Pivert, his wife, Marguerite Lesage, and their niece; Adrien Duchesne and his wife; Jean Foucher, Étienne Brûlé, Nicholas Marsolet, Le Baillif, Pierre Reye, Olivier Le Tardif. The missionaries who returned to France were: Three Jesuits, two Récollets, two Brothers Jesuits and three Brothers Récollets, ten in all. Their names were: Fathers Jesuits Enemond Massé, Anne de Noüe and Jean de Brébeuf, Fathers Récollets Joseph de la Roche d'Aillon, and Joseph Le Caron, Brothers Jesuits François Charton and Gilbert Burel, and the Récollet Friars Gervais Mohier,

Jean Gaufestre and Pierre Langoissieux. Among the clerks who returned home were Corneille de Vendremur, Thierry-Desdames, Eustache Boullé, and Destouches.

Since the year 1608 there had been only seven births, three marriages, and forty deaths. One man had been hanged, six had been murdered, and three drowned. A Récollet father, called Nicholas Viel, had perished in the Sault au Récollet; and there had been sixteen victims of the scurvy.

## CHAPTER XII

### QUEBEC RESTORED

THROUGH the exertions of Champlain negotiations were soon entered into for the purpose of restoring the colony of New France to the French. Champlain had visited the French ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf, when in London, and had laid before him a statement of the events which had recently taken place, together with the treaty of capitulation and a map of New France, so far as it was explored. According to Champlain, the country comprised all the lands which Linschot thus describes: "This part of America which extends to the Arctic pole northward, is called New France, because Jean Verazzano, a Florentine, having been sent by King François I to these quarters, discovered nearly all the coast, beginning from the Tropic of Cancer to the fiftieth degree, and still more northerly, arboring arms and flags of France; for that reason the said country is called New France."

Champlain was not quarrelling with the English for the Virgines, although this country had been occupied by the French eighty years before, and they had also discovered all the American coast, from the river St. John to the peninsula of Florida.

No one can deny that Champlain had given names to the rivers and harbours of New England as far as Cape Cod, about the fortieth degree of latitude.

After having spent about five weeks with the ambassador in furnishing him with information to guide him in his negotiations with the English authorities, Champlain resolved to visit France, as he had a reasonable hope of seeing his designs accomplished. He left London on November 20th, and embarked at Rye, in Sussex, for Dieppe. Here he met Captain Daniel, who had just returned from his expedition to Canada, and it was here also that he received his commission of governor of New France, which had been forwarded by the directors of the Company of New France.

Champlain paid a visit to Rouen, and then went to Paris, where he had interviews with the king, with the cardinal, and some of the associates of the company. A prominent topic of discussion was, naturally, the loss of New France, and the best means of recovering it. Champlain's ideas were excellent, and he did his best to have them acknowledged and agreed to by all those who were interested in the fate of New France.

Events progressed favourably, and Champlain was pleased to learn that Doctor Daniel had been sent to London with letters for King Charles I. Louis XIII demanded the restoration of the fort and habitation of Quebec, and the forts and harbours of the Acadian coast, for the reason that they had been

captured after peace had been concluded between the two countries. Doctor Daniel returned to France, bearing despatches by which Charles I answered that he was ready to restore Quebec, but no mention was made of Acadia. The directors of the company immediately ordered Commander de Razilly to equip a fleet, and, as we have already stated, to take possession of Quebec by force or otherwise.

The Hundred Associates subscribed sixteen thousand livres for the freighting of the vessels, and the king granted the balance of the expenses. The news of these extraordinary war-like preparations caused alarm in London, but the French ambassador stated that these vessels were not being sent to trouble or disturb any of the English settlers who had taken possession of the French habitations. This explanation relieved the public mind in England, and Charles I promised to give back to France its ancient possessions in America, as they were on April 24th, 1629, the date of the signing of the Treaty of Suze. In justice to England it may be said that two English vessels were seized by the French at about the same time that Kirke had forced Champlain to surrender. There was, therefore, illegal action on both sides, and both countries had claims to be regulated.

The English would have preferred to have retained possession of Canada, at least until the following year, as the Kirke brothers and their associates hoped to be able to realize considerable sums from their

trade with the Indians. This condition of affairs is explained in a letter addressed by Cardinal Richelieu to Chateauneuf, on December 20th, 1629: "They assure us that they cannot restore Canada at once; this is the reason for our delay in restoring these vessels." And he adds: "If they agree to the restitution of Quebec without any condition, you shall take it for granted, if not, it is better to put a delay to the settlement."

It is obvious that Charles I had twice promised to restore Quebec, and when Chateauneuf retired from his position of ambassador in the month of April, 1630, he had obtained "every assurance of restitution of all things taken since the peace." The Marquis of Fontenay-Mareuil, who succeeded Chateauneuf on March 13th, received special instructions from the cardinal on this subject: "His Majesty's design is that, continuing the negotiations of Chateauneuf, you continue to ask for the restitution of Canada, and of all goods and vessels taken from the French since the peace."

The new ambassador could not urge the claims of France with greater activity than his predecessor. During the space of two months, Chateauneuf had prepared five documents relating to Canadian affairs, to which the commissioners appointed to settle the matter had replied on February 11th. These officials were Sir Humphrey May, Sir John Coke, Sir Julius Cæsar, and Sir Henry Martin. Their conclusion regarding Canada was that His Majesty had not

changed his mind concerning the restoration of places, vessels and goods taken from the French, according to the first declaration he had made through a memorandum in Latin, communicated some time since to the French ambassador.

Louis XIII was at this time engaged in war with Austria, and Richelieu was too busy to attend to Canadian matters, which were of less importance than the European questions which occupied his time. Interior dissensions were soon added to the trouble which France had to undergo. Gaston, the king's brother, was compromised, and the Duke of Montmorency, who took part in a plot against the king, was seized and put to death.

The negotiations commenced in 1629 were not resumed until 1632. In the meantime the English authorities had not been idle. Charles I had not forgotten his promise, and even if he had, there were men in France who had a good memory. On June 12th, 1631, Charles I addressed a long letter to Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador to France, respecting the restitution of Quebec and Acadia. The terms were as follows:—

"That which we require, which is the payment of the remainder of the money, the restitution of certain ships taken and kept without any colour or pretence, and the taking of arrests and seizures which were made in that kingdom against our subjects contrary to treaty, being of right and due. And that which is demanded of us concerning the

places in Canada and those parts, and some few ships of that nation (French) which remained yet unrestored, but have passed sentence of confiscation in our high Court of Admiralty upon good grounds in justice, being things of courtesy and good correspondence."

According to her marriage settlement the Queen Henrietta possessed a dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns, equivalent to eight hundred thousand écus de trois livres, French currency. The half of that sum had been made payable on the day before the marriage in London, and the other half a little later. The marriage took place on June 13th, 1625, and the first instalment was then paid. In the year 1631 the second instalment had not been paid, and Charles I claimed it as one of the conditions of settlement.

Some historians have stated that the king took this opportunity to have a money question solved. If, however, the debt was legitimate, France was obliged to pay it, and the difficulties that had occurred in the meantime had nothing to do with the deed of marriage upon which the claim was based. Chateauneuf had promised to pay the claim. Unless, therefore, there was any doubt as to the right of the king to claim the sum, it is difficult to understand why the king should be blamed.

In his letter to his ambassador at Paris Charles I alludes to documents exchanged between Chateauneuf and Fontenay-Mareuil on the one side, and the

lords commissioners appointed to give a ruling. In this document it is noticed that Guillaume de Caën had discussed with Kirke the value of the goods and peltry that had been taken out of the stores at Quebec. They disagreed both as to the number and value. De Caën claimed four thousand two hundred and sixty-six beaver skins which had been captured by Kirke, while Kirke pretended to have found only one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, and that the balance of his cargo, four thousand skins, was the result of trade with the Indians.

According to the books of the English company, Kirke had bought four thousand five hundred and forty beaver skins, four hundred and thirty-two elk skins, and had found in the stores one thousand seven hundred and thirteen beaver skins. The difference in the calculation is due to the fact that the English only mentioned the beaver skins registered in their books, and the French included all the skins which belonged to them when the fort surrendered, making no mention of those that they had taken out of the fort with the permission of the English. Guillaume de Caën valued each skin at twelve pounds ten shillings, and Burlamachi had written from Metz to representatives of the English company, that he had been compelled to accept de Caën's estimates, as under the terms of an Act of Private Council, he was bound to make them good. The king had promised to reimburse de Caën for his losses by the payment of the sum of fourteen

thousand three hundred and thirty pounds, of which eight thousand two hundred and seventy pounds were for his peltry and goods, and six thousand and sixty pounds for the vessels which had been captured. David Kirke strongly opposed the payment of this sum on the ground that it was excessive, but the king through his councillors ordered the payment to be made.

Having determined to seize the peltry brought to London from Quebec, the Kirke associates blew off the padlock which had been fixed to the store-house door by an order of justice. Some time after, when Guillaume de Caën visited the store, accompanied by a member of the company and a constable, he discovered that only three hundred beaver skins and four hundred elk skins remained. Complaint was lodged with the king, who ordered Kirke to return the skins which were missing within three days, on pain of imprisonment or the confiscation of his property. None of the associates of Kirke appear to have obtained the sympathy of the public in that affair.

The English company had suffered a great loss over the transaction, and the king thought that it would be just to grant them some compensation. He therefore appointed two commissioners, Sir Isaac Wake and Burlamachi, to look after the interests of the English company. Their mission was to make an agreement with Guillaume de Caën, who represented the French company. After the exchange of

a long correspondence, the king of France agreed to pay to David Kirke the sum of twenty thousand pounds, on the condition that he should restore the fort of Quebec, the contents of the storehouse, the vessel belonging to Emery de Caën, and the peltry seized in Canada.

David Kirke was much dissatisfied with the agreement, which he believed was due to the action of Sir Isaac Wake, to whom he wrote, accusing him of not having followed the instructions of the English company. His letter concluded with these words: "I understand that the conduct of this affair has been absolutely irregular, as it is evident that you have only resorted to the French testimony, having no care for the English evidence."

In the same memorandum the Kirke family complained of the fact that the Company of English Adventurers had been compelled to plead in France, while the French were not subject to the same conditions. This accusation was not correct, as Guillaume de Caën had been obliged not only to live in London in order to vindicate his goods, but also to watch them and prevent damage.

Kirke had no other claim than compensation for losses, and de Caën, who had apparently no responsibility for the conflict of 1629, could not reasonably be expected to pay the amount of Kirke's claim. The contents of the storehouse at Quebec were the property of the de Caëns, and in visiting Quebec Emery de Caën had no other object in view than to

secure his goods and take them to France. He had nothing to do with the war, and believed that he was sailing in times of peace. Thomas Kirke, by whom he was taken prisoner, treated him as a pirate, illegally, and in spite of the Treaty of Suze. It is true that the Kirkes ignored the existence of this treaty when they sailed for America, but this was only an excuse for their attitude as belligerents.

As soon as the provisions of the negotiations were determined upon between the two countries, the claims had to be sent to the king, if they considered that they had any grievance under the privileges conferred upon them by letters of marque. The royal commission took a correct stand in demanding from them in the name of Charles I an indemnity for France. All these differences were at length terminated through the energetic interference of Richelieu. These disputes had lasted for more than two years, and constantly occupied the attention of the ambassadors. The king of France, therefore, empowered Bullion and Bouthillier on January 25th, 1632, to act. Charles I had already sent Burlamachi to France with letters in favour of the restoration of Canada and Acadia, and had also given instructions to Sir Isaac Wake, his ambassador extraordinary. On March 5th, Louis XIII granted an audience to the ambassadors, and the basis of a treaty was agreed upon. Sir Isaac Wake represented Charles I, and Bullion and Bouthillier represented the king of France.

The commissioners took up the question of seizures, which was the most difficult. The king of France agreed to pay the sum of sixty-four thousand two hundred and forty-six pounds to Lumagne and Vanelly for the goods seized on the *Jacques*, and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-six pounds for the goods seized on the *Bénédiction*, and to restore these two vessels to their owners within fifteen days. This agreement included the effects taken from the *Bride*, and sold at Calais, the property of Lumagne and Vanelly. The king of England promised to render and restore all the places occupied by the subjects of His Majesty of Great Britain in New France, Canada and Acadia, and to enjoin all those who commanded at Port Royal, at the fort of Quebec and at Cape Breton, to put these places in the hands of those whom it shall please His Majesty, eight days after notice given to the officers named by the king of France.

Under this agreement, de Caën was obliged to pay for the equipment of a vessel of two hundred to two hundred and fifty tons, and for the repatriation of the English subjects established in New France. The forts and places occupied by the English were to be restored as they were before their capture, with all arms and ammunition, according to the detailed list which Champlain had given. Burlamachi was authorized to pay for everything that was missing, and also to place Emery de Caën in possession of the ship *Hélène*, which had been

taken from him, together with all goods abandoned at Quebec during his voyage of 1631. Burlamachi was also instructed to pay to Guillaume de Caën the sum of eighty-two thousand seven hundred pounds within two months. The sum of sixty thousand six hundred and two pounds tournois was also to be paid by Burlamachi to whomever it might belong, for the vessels *Gabriel* of St. Gilles, *Sainte-Anne*, of Havre de Grâce, *Trinité*, of Sables d'Olonne, *St. Laurent*, of St. Malo, and *Cap du Ciel*, of Calais, seized by the English after the signing of the Treaty of Suze.

After this was agreed to, the commissioners embodied in eight articles the conditions of free trade between the two countries. The whole was signed by Wake, Bullion and Bouthillier, at St. Germain-en-Laye, on March 29th, 1632.

Thus terminated this quarrel between England and France, but it was only the precursor of a far more serious conflict which was to arise. From time to time, however, these differences were adjusted temporarily by treaties, only to lead to further complications. The principal difficulty arose regarding the boundaries of New France, the limits of which were not clearly defined in the treaty. Some adjacent parts were claimed by the English as their territory. The king of France had granted to the Hundred Associates "in all property, justice and seigniory, the fort and habitation of Quebec, together with the country of New France, or Canada,

along the coasts . . . . coasting along the sea to the Arctic circle for latitude, and from the Island of Newfoundland for longitude, going to the west to the great lake called Mer Douce (Lake Huron), and farther within the lands and along the rivers which passed through them and emptied in the river called St. Lawrence, otherwise the great river of Canada, etc."

Quebec was considered as the centre of these immense possessions of the king of France, and included the islands of Newfoundland, Cape Breton and St. John (Prince Edward).

The king of England had granted to Sir Thomas Gates and others, in 1606, three years after the date of de Monts' letters patent, "this part of America commonly called Virginia, and the territories between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of latitude, and the islands situated within a space of one hundred miles from the coasts of the said countries."

In the year 1621, James I granted to Sir William Alexander, Count of Sterling, certain territory, which under the name of Nova Scotia was intended to comprise the present provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and the whole of Gaspesia. Charles I granted to Sir William Alexander in the year 1625 another charter, which revoked the one of 1621.

It is evident that the king of England and the king of France had each given charters covering

about the same extent of territory, and it is therefore easy to understand that tedious correspondence of a complicated nature thereby arose between the two countries. The treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye did not determine the question of the boundaries of the territory, and each power reserved its rights in this respect.

The inhabitants of Quebec at this time were in a state of suspense, for they had no knowledge of the progress made with the negotiations between the two countries. They had no reason to complain of the English, however, who treated them well, but the Huguenots, their own countrymen, who seemed prepared to serve under the English flag, were, as usual, troublesome and fanatical on religious questions. The settlers were so much distressed at not having the benefit of the ministration of a priest of their church, that they had resolved to leave the country at the earliest opportunity.

The Lutheran minister, who had decided to remain at Quebec with Kirke's men, had much to suffer. His advice was not accepted by his own people, and he was, moreover, kept in prison for a period of six months under the pretext of inciting the soldiers of the garrison to rebellion. All these disagreements rendered the condition of the Catholics almost unendurable.

On July 13th, 1632, a white flag was seen floating from a vessel which was entering the harbour of Quebec. The inhabitants were rejoiced, and when

they were able to hear mass in the house of Madame Hébert, their happiness was complete. It was three years since they had enjoyed this privilege. One girl had been born in the interval, to the wife of Guillaume Couillard. But no death had been recorded, except the murder of an Iroquois prisoner by a Montagnais while in a state of intoxication.

The Jesuits who had arrived at the same time as Emery de Caën, took charge of the Quebec mission. In the year 1627, the Récollets, seeing that their mission had not apparently produced the results that they desired, and that they were also reduced to great distress, resolved to abandon New France for a country less ungrateful. We have seen that after the capitulation, the Récollets left with the greater number of the French for their motherland, but when they heard that Canada had been restored to France, they made preparations to resume their labours. Their superiors offered no objection, but the chief directors of the Hundred Associates, thinking the establishment of two different religious orders in the country, which as yet had no bishop, would create jealousies, determined to refuse the services of the Récollets.

Jean de Lauzon, intendant of the company for Canadian affairs, made a formal protest, and thus these noble missionaries were forced to abandon their work in Canada. The Récollets were much disappointed, but Father Le Caron, the first apostle to the Huron tribes, was so distressed at the news

that he was taken ill and died on March 29th, 1632, some days before the departure of Emery de Caën for Quebec. He had brought some manuscripts from Canada, which were accidently burnt in Normandy. This man was perhaps the purest example of all the Récollets in Canada. Others had a more illustrious name, but none gave greater proof of devotedness and courage in their dealings with the Indians, and especially the Hurons. He was generally regarded as a saint.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE JESUIT MISSIONS IN NEW FRANCE

THE Jesuits, who had only been in the country about four years, had not as yet a true idea of the magnitude of the task they had undertaken. Father Charles Lalemant had abandoned the theatre of his first apostolic labours on our Canadian soil, at the same time that some workmen whom Father Noyrot had brought from France during the preceding year, left the place. He was the last representative, together with Fathers Massé, de Noüe and de Brébeuf of the primitive church of Canada. Mention has been made of the temporary residence in the convent of the Récollets, and of a building which was erected for themselves at about two hundred feet from the shore, near the junction of the river Lairet and the river St. Charles. The Jesuits received a concession of this land which was bounded on the west by a stream called St. Michel, and the river St. Mary or Beauport on the east. This was named the Seigniory of Notre Dame des Anges.

The Jesuits' convent was finished on April 6th, 1626. It was a poor residence of about forty feet in length and thirty feet in width. The building contained a small chapel dedicated to Notre Dame des Anges, on account of a picture which decorated

a wall representing the Blessed Virgin receiving the homage of angels. This name extended beyond the chapel, and was given to the seigniory, and after a lapse of three centuries, it remains unchanged.

The different mission-stations of the Jesuits in Canada and around the gulf of the St. Lawrence were maintained at the expense of the Hundred Associates from the year 1632, with the exception of their college at Quebec which was founded through the liberality of the Marquis de Gamache, who gave them a sum of sixteen thousand écus d'or for that purpose, in 1626, on the occasion of his son taking religious vows. The offer was accepted by Father Vitelleschi, general of the order, and the college was founded in 1635, and opened a few years later. "This," writes Parkman, "was the cradle of the great missions of Canada!"

As soon as the Jesuits arrived they commenced to repair their residence, and in the year 1632 it was in a fit state for a banquet which was given to Emery de Caën, who had been appointed governor *ad interim* of the French colony.

Champlain returned from France to Quebec in the month of June of the following year, and again took over the government of New France. He brought with him Fathers Massé and Jean de Brébeuf, and their arrival was the dawn of a brighter era for the Canadian missions. The Jesuits founded, during the same year, a mission at Three Rivers, and another at Ihonatiria in the Huron country.

The mission-stations at Miscou and at Cape Breton were also opened at about the same time, but they were all, practically speaking, dependent upon the liberality of the Hundred Associates.

The Jesuits in their Relations of 1635 regarded the establishment of the mission of Notre Dame des Anges as destined to fulfil three designs which they had in view for the honour and glory of God. These were: (1.) To erect a college for the education of young Frenchmen who were becoming more and more numerous. (2.) To found a seminary for young Indians for the purpose of civilizing or improving their moral condition. (3.) To extend the missions of the Jesuits among the Hurons and other savage tribes. These three designs were in a measure accomplished by this means. From the year 1626 Quebec was the principal centre of Canadian missions, which extended from Tadousac to the Great Lakes. Seeing that the French were all gathering in the vicinity of Fort St. Louis, and that their convent was exposed to attacks of the Indians, the Jesuits decided to build their new college upon the promontory of Cape Diamond. In the year 1637 the Hundred Associates conceded twelve acres of land to the Jesuits near Fort St. Louis, upon which they built their college and a church, some years after. The seminary for young Indians was opened in the year 1627, and Father Charles Lalemant conducted a class for them as long as there were pupils to attend.

The seminary of Notre Dame des Anges has an interesting though brief history. It was Father Le Jeune's intention to have removed it near to the fort. The question of transferring it to the Huron country, in order to obtain a greater number of pupils had been discussed, but there were many reasons against the change, the principal being that the proximity to the Huron families would have caused the fathers annoyance. The seminary was, therefore, continued at Notre Dame des Anges, where it remained until it was closed. Father Le Jeune wrote to the Provincial in France on August 28th, 1636:—

"I consider it very probable that, if we had a good building in Kébec we would get more children through the very same means by which we despaired of getting them. We have always thought that the excessive love the savages bear their children would prevent our obtaining them. It will be through this very means that they will become our pupils; for, by having a few settled ones, who will attract and retain the others, the parents, who do not know what it is to refuse their children, will let them come without opposition. And, as they will be permitted during the first few years to have a great deal of liberty, they will become so accustomed to our food and our clothes that they will have a horror of the savages and their filth. We have seen this exemplified in all the children brought up among our French. They get so well

acquainted with each other in their childish plays that they do not look at the savages, except to flee from them or make sport of them. Our great difficulty is to get a building, and to find the means with which to support these children. It is true we are able to maintain them at Notre Dame des Anges; but as this place is isolated, so that there are no French children there, we have changed the plan that we formerly had to locate the seminary there. Experience shows us that it must be established where the bulk of the French population is, to attract the little savages by the French children. And, since a worthy and virtuous person has commenced by giving something for a seminary we are going to give up our attempts to clear some land, and shall make an effort to build at Kébec. I say an effort, for it is with incredible expense and labour that we build in these beginnings. What a blessing from God if we can write next year that instruction is being given in New France in three or four languages. I hope, if we succeed in getting a lodging, to see three classes at Kébec—the first, of little French children, of whom there will be perhaps twenty or thirty pupils; the second, of Hurons; the third, of Montagnés."

Father Daniel was the chief of the seminary, although he was generally assisted by other fathers, who instructed the children of the families residing near the convent. The chapel was used as a classroom, and both the boys and girls made good pro-

gress. They were soon taught to observe the customs of the French, such as joining their hands in prayers, kneeling or standing during the recitation of their lessons. They were also taught to answer with modesty, and to be respectful in their behaviour. The girls were especially apt at learning, and they endeavoured to imitate the French girls, for whom they appeared to have great love. At certain intervals a public meeting was held, at which the governor and the citizens of Quebec were present, and the pupils were questioned on religious subjects. The most successful received a reward at the hands of the governor, consisting of either a knife or an awl. They were called upon to kiss the governor's hand, and to make a bow *à la française.*

The pupils of the seminary were chiefly Hurons, and the names of some of the more prominent are known. These were Satouta, Tsiko, Teouatirhon, Andehoua, Aïandacé. The three first died during their residence in Quebec, on account of the change of air and of diet. Father Le Jeune has written that these young Indians were the columns of the seminary. They were, in fact, endued with many good qualities, and had given great hopes for the future. Satouta was the son of a Huron admiral, who was the most popular and best known Indian in the country. His authority was considered supreme, and in nautical matters his word was law. He had promised that at his death Satouta should inherit his name.

Tsiko was the son of Ouanda Koka, one of the best speakers of his tribe, and he had won the esteem and admiration of his people through his talents. Tsiko had inherited his father's gifts, and spoke so well that he astonished all who heard him, especially the fathers.

Andehoua was a model of virtue. He was baptized under the name of Armand Jean, in honour of Cardinal Richelieu. The governor stood as his godfather. Andehoua made such good progress in his studies that he became a sort of missionary, and he did everything in his power to convert his countrymen. He died at the Hôtel Dieu, Quebec, in 1654, at the early age of thirty-six.

From the year 1639 the number of seminarists began to decrease, until there was only one. However, in the year 1643 four young Hurons went down to Quebec to receive instruction, and were baptized. Their godfathers were LeSueur de St. Sauveur, a priest, Martial Piraube, M. de Repentigny and M. de la Vallée. In the Relations of the Jesuits the names of three are preserved: Ateiachias, Atarohiat, and Atokouchioüani.

The seminary was then finally closed. The Jesuits opened another at Three Rivers, and at the commencement there were six pupils, but at the end of a year there were none. After eight years' experience, the Jesuits realized that it was impossible successfully to make an Indian boy adopt the manners and habits of the French, and the same result

was afterwards found by others who tried the experiment.

In the year 1635, the Jesuits' missions in New France included those at Cape Breton, Richibucto and Miscou Island. The mission of Miscou was the best organized and the most populous; the Catholics of Gaspé, Miramichi and Nipisiguit (Bathurst) went there. The island of Miscou is situated at the northern extremity of the coast of New Brunswick, near the entrance of the Baie des Chaleurs. It was the common residence of the Jesuits and of the two first who came here, Father Charles Turgis and Father Charles du Marché. On their arrival they found twenty-three Frenchmen there, who were endeavouring to form a settlement. Unfortunately, most of them were taken ill with scurvy, from which they died, including the captain, the surgeon, a clerk and nine or ten officers. Father du Marché was forced to leave the island, and finally Father Turgis succumbed to the disease, and left behind him a single man, who was in a dying condition.

In the year 1637, two other Jesuits came to this inhospitable island, Father Jacques de la Place and Father Nicholas Gondoin. They found only nine persons there, who were in charge of the storehouse. A year later, Father Claude Quentin, superior of the Canadian missions, came to assist his confrère, who had undertaken to erect a chapel, but after three years of constant labour, they both returned to Quebec in an exhausted condition.

Father Dollebeau and Father André Richard then took charge of the mission on the island of Miscou, but the former was taken ill and was obliged to return to France. During the voyage the vessel was captured by three English frigates, and while pillaging the ship a soldier set fire to the powder magazine, and as a result Father Dollebeau and the whole crew perished.

In the course of years, however, the Miscou mission increased, and the chapel proving insufficient to accommodate the congregation, the Jesuits built another at the entrance of the river Nipisiguit.

Father de Lyonne was the real founder of this new mission. Nipisiguit was a good trading and fishing-station, and a general rendezvous for the French as well as the Indians; it was also a safe harbour. Between the years 1650 and 1657, Father de Lyonne crossed the ocean three times in the interest of his mission, and in the year 1657 he founded another mission at Chedabucto, where he ended his career.

The field of the missionaries was divided after the year 1650. Father de Lyonne took charge of the mission at Chedabucto, while the stations at Miscou and Nipisiguit were under the control of Father Richard, and Father Frémin was given charge of the Richibucto mission. In the year 1661, Father Richard replaced Father de Lyonne at Chedabucto, but he only remained there one year.

The missions of the Jesuits in Acadia and Baie des Chaleurs closed with the departure of Father Richard. Some historians of Acadia mention the labours of Father Joseph Aubéri, whom Chateaubriand has immortalized in his "Atala." Father Aubéri prepared a map of Acadia, and also a memorandum of the boundaries of New France and New England in the year 1720.

The mission-station at Cape Breton was commenced in 1634, and Father Julian Perrault, a Jesuit, took up his residence there and gave religious instruction to the Micmacs, whom he found very attentive. The Micmacs were a hardy race, of great stature. Some of the men who were upwards of eighty years of age had not a single white hair.

Champlain gave to Cape Breton the name of St. Lawrence Island. The name was originally given to the cape but it was afterwards applied to the island. Bras d'Or was called Bibeaudock by the Indians, and Louisburg was commonly known as Port aux Anglais. The Portuguese had formerly occupied the island, but they were forced to leave it on account of the temperature and other causes. Nicholas Denys, who had been obliged to abandon Chedabucto, in Acadia, came to the island and founded Fort St. Pierre, which was taken from him in the year 1654 by Emmanuel le Borgne de Belle Isle, and by one Guilbault, a merchant of La Rochelle. Denys then took up his residence, sometimes at Miscou, sometimes at Gaspé or at Nipisiguit. His

son Charles Denys, Sieur de Fronsac, had settled on the shores of the river Miramichi.

The first Jesuits who were invited to take charge of the Cape Breton mission were Fathers Vimont and de Vieux-Pont, who had been brought out by Captain Daniel, who, it will be remembered, lost a great deal of time in attacking the fort which had been built on the river du Grand Cibou by Stuart. The two Jesuits and forty men were left here. The Jesuits, however, returned to France in 1630. Fathers Davost and Daniel were missionaries at Cape Breton in 1633, and when Champlain visited the place on May 5th of that year, he met the two Jesuits, who soon afterwards returned with him to Quebec.

Father Perrault resided at Cape Breton during the years 1634 and 1635, and Fathers Richard and d'Endemare came in the following year and took up their residence at Fort Ste. Anne in Grand Cibou Bay. This place had many advantages, as it was naturally fortified, and three thousand small vessels could anchor safely in the bay. The Jesuits remained at Cape Breton until the arrival of Bishop de Laval in 1659. These various missions which we have recorded, constitute the religious history of the islands and coasts of the gulf of St. Lawrence during the greater part of the seventeenth century, and they were all founded by Champlain or under his administration, and he certainly took an active part in the civilization of the Micmacs.

In a memorandum addressed to the king, Champlain had set forth his intention to erect a church at Quebec, to be dedicated to the Redeemer. He was, however, unable to accomplish his design. He had also made a solemn promise to the Blessed Virgin, between the years 1629 and 1632, to erect a church in honour of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, and on his return to Quebec he set out to fulfil his obligation. The occasion was favourable, as the chapel near the habitation in Lower Town had been completely ruined.

The chapel of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was erected during the summer of 1633, and in the autumn of the same year the Jesuits said mass for the inhabitants within the building. The increase of the population and of their religious zeal within the two following years, induced Champlain to raise this humble chapel into a small church. The building was therefore enlarged, and from that date the services assumed a character of solemnity which had been unknown before. Grand mass was celebrated every Sunday by a Jesuit, and the inhabitants each in turn offered consecrated loaves. In the afternoon, after vespers, the catechism was explained by the fathers. The French were very regular in their attendance at these ceremonies, and also at the religious instructions.

Father Charles Lalemant was the first Jesuit who lived at the presbytery as a parish priest. His successor was Father Jean de Quen. Father Le

Jeune wrote at that time:—"As soon as we had been lodged near the church (Notre Dame de la Recouvrance) Father Lalemant who had just begun to live at the residence, at the same time initiated its solemnities; Father de Quen, has succeeded him with the same inclination for ceremony. I frankly confess that my heart melted the first time I assisted in this divine service, at the sight of our Frenchmen so greatly rejoicing to hear sung aloud and publicly the praises of the great God in the midst of a barbarous people, at the sight of little children speaking the Christian language in another world. . . . Monsieur Gand's zeal in exercising all his energies to cause our French to love these solemn and public devotions, seems to me very praiseworthy. But the regulations of Monsieur our governor, his very remarkable example, and the piety of the more prominent people, hold all in the line of duty."

When Champlain was on his deathbed he was aware that his promise had been fulfilled. Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was then a nice church, and it was due to his labours. By his last will he bequeathed to this church all his personal chattels, and three thousand livres in stock of the Company of New France, and nine hundred livres which he had invested in a private company founded by some associates, together with a sum of four hundred livres from his private purse. It was the whole fortune of the first governor of New France. This

will was afterwards contested and annulled, and the church was only allowed to receive the sum of nine hundred livres, which had been realized from the sale of his personal property. This sum was devoted to the purchase of a pyx, a silver gilt chalice, and a basin and cruets.

Several gifts were made for the decoration of the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance. Duplessis-Bochart presented two pictures, one representing the Blessed Virgin, and the other the Holy Family. De Castillon, seignior of the Island of Orleans, offered four small pictures, one of St. Ignace de Loyola, of St. François Xavier, of St. Stanislas de Kostka, and of St. Louis de Gonzagne, and also a large engraving of Notre Dame. Champlain had also placed on one of the walls a painting which had been rescued from the shipwreck during Father Noyrot's voyage.

During the year after Champlain's death, the Jesuits consecrated the church of Notre Dame de la Recouvrance under the name of the Immaculate Conception, which from that date was the special patron of the parochial church of Quebec.

The inauguration of this patronage afforded an opportunity for public rejoicing. On December 7th, 1636, a flag was hoisted on the fort and the cannon were fired many times. On the 8th, the day observed by the church in honour of the Immaculate Conception, the citizens fired a salute from the muskets at dawn, and they all assisted at mass, and received the Holy Communion. Devotion to the Mother of

God soon became general among the people, who were characterized as moral and honest.

Notre Dame de la Recouvrance was burnt on June 14th, 1640. In a few hours the residence of the Jesuits, the parochial church, and the chapel of Champlain, where his bones had been placed, were destroyed. The Relation of 1640 gives a short description of the catastrophe : " A rather violent wind, the extreme drouth, the oily wood of the fir of which these buildings were constructed, kindled a fire so quick and violent that hardly anything could be done. All the vessels and the bells and chalices were melted; the stuffs some virtuous persons had sent to us to clothe a few seminarists, or poor savages, were consumed in this same sacrifice. Those truly royal garments that His Majesty had sent to our savages to be used in public functions, to honour the liberality of so great a king, were engulfed in this fiery wreck, which reduced us to the hospital, for we had to go and take lodgings in the hall of the poor, until monsieur, our governor, loaned us a house, and after being lodged therein, the hall of the sick had to be changed into a church." This conflagration was a great loss. The registers were burnt, and the Jesuits had to reproduce them from memory. The chief buildings of Quebec had disappeared, and it was seventeen years before a a new church was built.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE GROWTH OF QUEBEC

A QUARTER of a century had elapsed since the founding of Quebec, and still it could scarcely be regarded as other than a village, while in some parts of New France colonization was absolutely null. Agriculture had received some attention in the vicinity of Quebec, but it was on such a small scale that it should be termed gardening rather than farming.

Charlevoix writes: "The fort of Quebec, surrounded by a few wretched houses and some sheds, two or three cabins on the island of Montreal, as many, perhaps, at Tadousac, and at some other points on the river St. Lawrence, to accommodate fishers and traders, a settlement begun at Three Rivers and the ruins of Port Royal, this was all that constituted New France—the sole fruit of the discoveries of Verrazzani, Jacques Cartier, de Roberval, Champlain, of the great expenses of the Marquis de la Roche and de Monts, and of the industry of many Frenchmen, who might have built up a great colony had they been well directed."

The various companies, as we have seen, took no interest whatever in settling the country, their chief design being to carry on fur trade with the Indians.

Patriotism had no meaning for them, the all-absorbing question was money. This was not the case, however, with the company established by Cardinal Richelieu, whose desire was to christianize the savages, to found a powerful colony, and to secure for his king the possession of New France. The principal associates of this company were pious, patriotic and zealous men, who laboured to extend the power and influence of France throughout the vast continent of America for the honour and glory of God. There were among the associates a certain number of gentlemen and ecclesiastics, who, realizing their incapacity to transact the business of such an important undertaking, preferred to hand over the administration to merchants of Dieppe, Rouen and Paris, together with the advantages to be derived therefrom. A special association was consequently formed, composed of merchants who undertook the financial affairs of the settlement, such as paying the new governor, providing ammunition and provisions, and maintaining the forts; and if there were profits they were to be divided amongst the Hundred Associates. This association was formed before the departure of Champlain for Quebec in 1633. Its agents were a merchant of Rouen named Rosée, and Cheffault, a lawyer of Paris, who had a representative at Quebec.

As it was necessary for the Hundred Associates to appoint a governor of New France, they offered the position to Champlain, as he was universally

respected and known to be experienced and disinterested. Moreover he was well acquainted with the country, and on friendly terms with the savages. It is doubtful whether any one could have taken his place with better prospects of success. Champlain, moreover, desired to finish his work, and although there was much to accomplish, the future appeared more favourable than at any other time. The company had a large capital at its disposal, and this alone seemed to insure the success of the colony. Three ships were equipped for Quebec in the spring of 1633, the *St. Pierre*, one hundred and fifty tons burden, carrying twelve cannon; the *St. Jean*, one hundred and sixty tons, with ten cannon, and the *Don de Dieu*, eighty tons, with six cannon. The ships carried about two hundred persons, including two Jesuits, a number of sailors and settlers, and one woman and two girls. Provisions and ammunition were in abundance. When the fleet arrived in the St. Lawrence, Champlain saw a number of English trading vessels which were there contrary to the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye. From this moment Champlain resolved to establish a fixed post for trading, both for the Indians as well as strangers. The island selected for this purpose by Champlain was situated in the river St. Lawrence, about ten leagues above Quebec, and was named Richelieu Island.

Champlain caused the island to be fortified as soon as possible, and surrounded it with a platform, upon which cannon were placed pointing in every

direction. Sentinels were placed on guard, and it would have been impossible for vessels to pass unobserved. The Indians were informed of this new plan, and in the autumn of the same year, the Nipissings and the Algonquins of the Iroquet came to this island for trading. The Hurons, however, came to Quebec, as they had heard from the Algonquins of Allumette Island that the French would take revenge for the murder of Étienne Brûlé. Champlain did not desire to punish them for the death of this traitor, and he therefore did his best to retain the friendship of the Indians, and entertained them at public feasts. He knew well that their fur trade was of great importance, and, moreover, he wanted them as allies in the event of an attack by the Iroquois, which might be expected at any time, as they were unreliable and always anxious for war. A league with the Hurons, Algonquins and Montagnais, with one hundred French, would, in the opinion of Champlain, be sufficient to protect the colony, and he wrote to that effect to the cardinal. This was probably his last letter to the great minister:—

"MONSEIGNEUR:—The honour of the commands that I have received from your Eminence has inspired me with greater courage to render you every possible service with all the fidelity and affection that can be desired from a faithful servant. I shall spare neither my blood nor my life whenever the occasion shall demand them.

"There are subjects enough in these regions, if your Eminence, considering the character of the country, shall desire to extend your authority over them. This territory is more than fifteen hundred leagues in length, lying between the same parallels of latitude as our own France. It is watered by one of the finest rivers in the world, into which empty many tributaries more than four hundred leagues in length, beautifying a country inhabited by a vast number of tribes. Some of them are sedentary in their mode of life, possessing, like the Muscovites, towns and villages built of wood; others are nomadic hunters and fishermen, all longing to welcome the French and religious fathers, that they may be instructed in our faith.

"The excellence of this country cannot be too highly estimated or praised, both as to the richness of the soil, the diversity of the timber such as we have in France, the abundance of wild animals, game and fish, which are of extraordinary magnitude. All this invites you, monseigneur, and makes it seem as if God had created you above all your predecessors to do a work here more pleasing to Him than any that has yet been accomplished.

" For thirty years I have frequented this country, and have acquired a thorough knowledge of it, obtained from my own observation and the information given me by the native inhabitants. Monseigneur, I pray you to pardon my zeal, if I say that, after your renown has spread throughout the

East, you should end by compelling its recognition in the West.

"Expelling the English from Quebec has been a very important beginning, but, nevertheless, since the treaty of peace between the two crowns, they have returned to carry on trade and annoy us in this river, declaring that it was enjoined upon them to withdraw, but not to remain away, and that they have their king's permission to come for the period of thirty years. But, if your Eminence wills, you can make them feel the power of your authority. This can furthermore be extended at your pleasure to him who has come here to bring about a general peace among these people, who are at war with a nation holding more than four hundred leagues in subjection, and who prevent the free use of the rivers and highways. If this peace were made, we should be in complete and easy enjoyment of our possessions. Once established in the country, we could expel our enemies, both English and Flemings, forcing them to withdraw to the coast, and, by depriving them of trade with the Iroquois, oblige them to abandon the country entirely. It requires but one hundred and twenty men, light armed for avoiding arrows, by whose aid, together with two or three thousand savage warriors, our allies, we should be, within a year, absolute masters of all these people; and by establishing order among them, promote religious worship and secure an incredible amount of traffic.

"The country is rich in mines of copper, iron, steel, brass, silver, and other minerals which may be found here.

"The cost, monseigneur, of one hundred and twenty men is a trifling one to His Majesty, the enterprise the most noble that can be imagined.

"All for the glory of God, whom I pray with my whole heart to grant you ever increasing prosperity, and to make me all my life, monseigneur, your most humble, most faithful and most obedient servant, "CHAMPLAIN.

"At Quebec, in New France, August 15th, 1635."

In order to consolidate his general scheme for the colonization of the country, Champlain desired that the missionaries should settle permanently among the Huron tribes. The Jesuits wished to go there, as they believed they would find a field for their labours. They had previously set before the people the light of the Catholic faith, but these efforts had not been as successful as they had wished. Father de Brébeuf, the apostle to the Hurons, having decided to return to his former sphere of labours, left for the Huron country in 1634, prepared to remain there as long as there was work to be done. He was destined to live among the Hurons until they were finally dispersed by the Iroquois.

When Champlain arrived at Quebec, he summoned Emery de Caën to deliver to Duplessis-Bochart the keys of the fort and habitation. Champlain's arrival caused much rejoicing among the

inhabitants, for he inspired both their love and respect, and he was, perhaps, the only man who could impress them with a belief in their future, and thus retain them in the country. The arrival of a certain number of settlers during the years 1633-4, was also an encouragement for all. The restoration of Canada to France caused some excitement in the maritime provinces of France, especially in Normandy, as most of the settlers of New France up to this date were from there. The exceptions were, Louis Hébert, a native of Paris, and Guillaume Couillard, of St. Malo. Emigration soon extended to other parts of the provinces, as the result of the discrimination of the Relations of the Jesuits, which had been distributed in Paris and elsewhere during the years 1632 and 1633. Several pious and charitable persons began to take an interest in the missions of New France, and forwarded both money and goods to help them.

Some nuns offered to go to Canada to look after the sick and to instruct the young girls, and in the year 1633 a few families arrived in Quebec with Champlain, who had defrayed their expenses.

In the year 1634 an association was formed in France for the purpose of promoting colonization, and a group of about forty persons, recruited in different parts of the province of Perche, were sent to Canada, with Robert Giffard at their head. Giffard, it will be remembered, had visited Quebec in the year 1627 as surgeon of the vessels sent out by

the company, but he had no intention of settling in the country. After having built a log hut on the Beauport shore, he devoted his leisure to hunting and fishing, game and fish being plentiful at that time, and returned to France during the same year. He was appointed surgeon to Roquemont's fleet during the following year, and as the vessels were captured by the English, he, with the others on board, was compelled to return to his mother country. This misfortune did not discourage the former solitary inhabitant of Beauport, and he resolved to revisit the country, but this time with a view of settling and of farming.

Giffard had suffered many losses, and as a compensation for his services and misfortune, he obtained a tract of land from the Company of New France, one league in length and a league and a half in breadth, situated between the rivers Montmorency and Beauport, bounded in front by the river St. Lawrence, and in the rear by the Laurentian Mountains. He was also granted as a special favour, a tract of land of two acres in extent, situated near the fort, for the purpose of building a residence, surrounded with grounds. These concessions, which seem large at first sight, were, however, not new to the colony. Louis Hébert had been granted the fief of the Sault au Matelot, and the fief Lepinay, while the Jesuits had received the fief of Notre Dame des Anges almost free of conditions.

Under these favourable conditions Giffard induced two citizens of Mortagne, Zacharie Cloutier and Jean Guyon, to accompany him to Canada. Cloutier was a joiner, and Guyon a mason. They promised their seignior that they would build him a residence, thirty feet long and sixteen feet wide.

The other emigrants came to Canada at their own risk. The party numbered forty-three persons, including women and children, and were within a space of from five to eight leagues of Mortagne, the chief town of the old province of Perche. There were two exceptions, however, Jean Juchereau came from La Ferté Vidame in Thimerais, and Noël Langlois was from St. Leonard, in Normandy.

The vessels bearing the contingent of settlers arrived in Quebec in June. They were four in number, under the command of Captains de Nesle, de Lormel, Bontemps, and Duplessis-Bochart. Robert Giffard had preceded the party by a few days, and he lost no time in selecting the spot where his residence was to be built, upon which he planted a cross on July 25th. He also commenced clearing the land, and two years after he gathered in a harvest of wheat sufficient to maintain twenty persons. The soil in this part was very productive, and it is, even to-day, the richest in the province of Quebec.

Among the emigrants of the year 1634 were two remarkable men, Jean Bourdon, and a priest named Jean LeSueur de St. Sauveur. The Abbé LeSueur de St. Sauveur had abandoned his parish of St.

Sauveur de Thury, which is to-day known as Thury-Harcourt, in Normandy, to come to Quebec. One of the suburbs of Quebec to-day takes its name from this active and devoted priest.

Jean Bourdon, an inseparable friend of the abbé, established himself on the borders of Côteau Ste. Geneviève, which is to-day known as St. John's suburb. He built a house and a mill, and also a chapel, which he named Chapel St. Jean. Other pioneers soon settled near Bourdon's place, which finally gave to Quebec a suburb.

Bourdon was a man of great capacity, and he in turn filled the rôle of surveyor, engineer, cartographer, delineator, farmer, diplomat and lawyer. He saw the colony increasing, and knew eight governors of the colony, including Champlain. He was also acquainted with Bishop Laval, the Venerable Mother Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation, and was on good terms with the Jesuits and the nuns of the Hôtel Dieu and Ursuline Convent. Bourdon played an important part in the affairs of the colony. He was present at the foundation of the Jesuits' college, of the Quebec seminary, and of the Conseil Souverain, of which he was procureur fiscal. Of his personal qualities, the Venerable Mother de l'Incarnation has written that he was "the father of the poor, the comfort of orphans and widows, a good example for everybody."

One of the articles of the act incorporating the Company of New France, provided that the colony

was to be settled with French and Catholic subjects only. This provision may appear at first sight to be arbitrary, but when we consider that one of the chief objects of the colonization of New France was to convert the savages, and that the Huguenots with their new form of religion were, generally speaking, hostile to the king and to the Catholics, it seems to have been a judicious provision. In such a small community the existence of two creeds so opposed to each other could hardly have produced harmony, and as the Catholics were undertaking the enterprise and it originated with them, they surely had the right to do what they considered would most effectively secure their ends.

For political reasons this action could also be defended, for the loyalty of the Huguenots was, perhaps, doubtful, and their past actions did not offer any guarantee for the future. They did not hesitate to preach revolt against the authorities of France, and, therefore, intimate connection with the Indians might have produced results prejudicial to the colony. If France had the welfare of the colony at heart, it behooved her to exclude every disturbing element. Viewed impartially, this precaution was undoubtedly just, and those who blame the company for their action, do not rightly understand the difficulties which existed at that period.

Richelieu, who had a clear insight into the affairs of the time, did not prohibit trade between the Huguenots and the Indians, but he refused them

permission to settle in Canada, or to remain there for any length of time without special leave. Champlain had observed the attitude of the Huguenots, their unwillingness to erect a fort at Quebec, their persecution of the Catholics, and their treatment of the Jesuits, and although he was not fanatical, he was pleased with this rule. The foundation of the new settlement was based upon religion, and religion was essential to its progress. Peace and harmony must be maintained, and everything that would promote trouble or quarrel must be excluded.

During the seventeenth century, England preserved a warlike attitude towards Catholics. A Catholic was not eligible for a public office, and the learned professions were closed to them, neither could a Catholic act as a tutor or as an executor to a will. Prejudice was carried still further, and even the books treating of their faith were suppressed, while relics or religious pictures were forbidden. These were only a few of the persecutions to which they were subject.

As far back as 1621 Champlain had requested the king to forbid Protestant emigration to Canada, but his petition was not granted, because the company was composed of mixed creeds. The company formed by Richelieu, however, was solely Catholic, and there were no difficulties on this score. The result of this policy was soon manifest. There were no more dissensions on board the vessels as to places

of worship, and the Catholics were, as a consequence, enabled to observe their religious duties without fear of annoyance. The beneficent influence of this policy extended to the settlement, where the people lived in peace, and were not subject to the petty quarrels which arose through a difference in creed.

In the Relation of 1637 we find evidence of this: "Now it seems to me that I can say with truth that the soil of New France is watered by so many heavenly blessings, that souls nourished in virtue find here their true element, and are, consequently, healthier than elsewhere. As for those whose vices have rendered them diseased, they not only do not grow worse, but very often, coming to breathe a salubrious air, and far removed from opportunities for sin, changing climate they change their lives, and a thousand times bless the sweet providence of God, which has made them find the door to felicity where others fear only misery.

"In a word, God has been worshipped in His houses, preaching has been well received, both at Kébec and at the Three Rivers, where Father Buteux usually instructed our French people; each of our brethren has been occupied in hearing many confessions, both ordinary and general; very few holidays and Sundays during the winter have passed in which we have not seen and received persons at the table of our Lord. And certain ones, who for three, four and five years had not confessed in old France, now, in the new, approach this so salutary

sacrament oftener than once a month; prayers are offered kneeling and in public, not only at the fort, but also in families and little companies scattered here and there. As we have taken for patroness of the Church of Kébec the Holy Virgin under the title of her Conception, which we believe to be immaculate, so we have celebrated this festival with solemnity and rejoicing.

"The festival of the glorious Patriarch Saint Joseph, father, patron and protector of New France, is one of the great solemnities of this country. . . . It is, in my opinion, through his favour and through his merits, that the inhabitants of New France who live upon the banks of the great river Saint Lawrence, have resolved to receive all the good customs of the old and to refuse admission to the bad ones.

"And to tell the truth, so long as we have a governor who is a friend of virtue, and so long as we have free speech in the Church of God, the monster of ambition will have no altar there.

"All the principal personages of our colony honour religion; I say with joy and God's blessing, that those whom His goodness has given to command over us, and those also who are coming to establish themselves in these countries, enjoy, cherish, and wish to follow the most sincere maxims of Christianity. . . . Justice reigns here, insolence is banished, and shamelessness would not dare to raise its head. . . . It is very important to introduce good laws and pious customs in these early beginnings,

for those who shall come after us will walk in our footsteps, and will readily conform to the example given them by us, whether tending to virtue or vice."

We could multiply evidence on this point. The Jesuits always recall this good feature of the settlers, their respect for their religion, its worship and its ministers.

The author of the "Secret Life of Louis XV," says that New France owed its vigour to its first settlers; their families had multiplied and formed a people, healthy, strong, honourable, and attached to good principles. Father Le Clercq, a Récollet, the Venerable Mother de l'Incarnation, and many others, seem to take pleasure in praising the virtues of our first ancestors.

Champlain had begun his administration by establishing order everywhere, and chiefly among the soldiers, who easily understood military discipline, but the religious code with more difficulty. Fort St. Louis was like a school of religion and of every virtue. They lived there as in a monastery. There was a lecture during meals; in the morning they read history, and at supper the lives of saints. After that they said their prayers, and Champlain had introduced the old French custom of ringing the church bells three times a day, during the recitation of the Angelus. At night, every one was invited to go to Champlain's room for the night's prayer, said by Champlain himself.

These good examples, given by Champlain, governor of the country, were followed, and produced good fruits of salvation among the whole population. The blessing of God on the young colony was evident, and when Champlain died, he had the consolation of leaving after him a moral, honest and virtuous people.

## CHAPTER XV

### CONCLUSION

IN the autumn of the year 1635, Champlain suffered from a stroke of paralysis, which was considered very severe from the commencement. However, hopes were entertained for his recovery. The months of October and November passed away, and still no sign of improvement appeared. Champlain, therefore, made his will, which he was able to sign plainly, in the presence of some witnesses. Father Charles Lalemant, the friend and confessor of Champlain, administered to him the last rites of the church, and on the night of December 25th, 1635, he passed away at Fort St. Louis.

All the inhabitants, without exception, were deeply affected on hearing the news of his demise, and a great number attended his funeral. The funeral sermon was preached by Father Le Jeune. Champlain was buried in a grave which had been specially prepared, and later on, a small chapel was erected to protect his precious remains.[1] This chapel was

[1] The exact site of the chapel wherein Champlain was buried is unknown, although many antiquarians have endeavoured to throw light upon the subject. In 1866 some bones and the fragment of an inscription were found in a kind of vault at the foot of Breakneck Stairs, and Messrs. Laverdière and Casgrain were under the impression that Champlain's tomb had been found. In 1875 the Abbé Casgrain discovered a

unfortunately burnt, as we have already mentioned, during the conflagration of June 14th, 1640.

The Jesuits' Relations of 1636 give a full account of the last days of Champlain, which we here quote: "On December 25th, the day of the birth of our Saviour upon earth, Monsieur de Champlain, our governor, was reborn in Heaven; at least we can say that his death was full of blessings. I am sure that God has shown him this favour in consideration of the benefits he has procured for New France, where we hope some day God will be loved and served by our French, and known and adored by our savages. Truly he had led a life of great justice, equity and perfect loyalty to his king and towards the gentlemen of the company. But at his death he crowned his virtues with sentiments of piety so lofty that he astonished us all. What tears he shed! How ardent became his zeal for the service of God! How great was his love for the families here—saying that they must be vigorously assisted for the good of the country, and made comfortable in every possible way in these early stages, and that he would do it if God gave him health. He was not

document which he considered proved that the chapel had been built in the Upper Town, in the vicinity of the parochial church and of Fort St. Louis. This opinion was further confirmed by other documents which have since been found. The chapel was in existence in the year 1661, but after this date no mention is made of it. The parochial archives contain no mention of the place, and the only facts that we have concerning the tomb, are that Father Raymbault and François de Ré, Sieur Gand, were buried near Champlain's remains.

taken unawares in the account which he had to render unto God, for he had long ago prepared a general confession of his whole life, which he made with great contrition to Father Lalemant, whom he honoured with his friendship. The father comforted him throughout his sickness, which lasted two months and a half, and did not leave him until his death. He had a very honourable burial, the funeral procession being formed of the people, the soldiers, the captains and the churchmen. Father Lalemant officiated at this burial, and I was charged with the funeral oration, for which I did not lack material. Those whom he left behind have reason to be well satisfied with him; for although he died out of France, his name will not therefore be any less glorious to posterity."

Champlain left no posterity. His wife spent only four years in Canada, after which she resided continually in Paris. During her residence in New France, she studied the Algonquin language, and instructed the young Indians in catechism, and in this manner she won the friendship of the native tribes. It was the fashion of the time for a lady of quality to wear at her girdle a small mirror, and the youthful Hélène observed the custom. The savages, who were delighted to be in her company, were oft time astonished to see their own image reflected on the crystalline surface of this mirror, and said, with their native simplicity: "A lady so handsome, who cures our diseases, and loves us to so great an extent

as to bear our image near her breast, must be superior to a human being." They, therefore, had a kind of veneration for her, and they would have offered their homage to her instead of to the Deity of whom they had only an imperfect knowledge.

The Indians were Madame Champlain's special care, but she was respected by the French as well. We do not know very much about her social intercourse with the different families of Quebec, but it is not probable that she ignored Madame Hébert or her family, as Faillon seems to believe. Her own distinction and the position of her husband would, no doubt, render her particular in the choice of friends, but we can scarcely believe that she would completely ignore Madame Couillard, who was of her own age. How was it that she consented to live alone in Quebec during the long absence of her husband?

After her return to Paris in 1624, Madame Champlain lived alone, and became more and more detached from the world, till she asked her husband to allow her to enter an Ursuline convent. Champlain, fearing that this desire might arise rather from caprice than a vocation for the life of the cloister, thought it advisable to refuse her request, and he bade her a last adieu in 1633. After Champlain's death, Father Le Jeune informed her that she was now free to follow the dictates of her heart.

According to the marriage settlement, Champlain

was obliged to leave to his wife, if she were still living, all his possessions. By his last will, however, he left all his property to the church. Champlain had no desire to injure his wife by this act; on the contrary, he knew that her piety was great, and that she would probably applaud the course he had taken, which was owing to his extraordinary devotion to Notre Dame de la Recouvrance, the church which he had built and loved. Madame Champlain, in fact, made no opposition, and the will was confirmed on July 11th, 1637. The will, however, was contested by Marie Camaret, a first cousin of Champlain, and wife of Jacques Hersault, comptroller of customs at La Rochelle, and a famous trial was the result. The will was contested on two grounds: (1.) That the will was contrary to the marriage settlement, and therefore ought to be annulled; (2.) That the will was made by foreign hands, as it was difficult to suppose that Champlain had chosen the Virgin Mary as his heir.

These were the contentions of Master Boileau. The attorney-general Bignon easily refuted the second allegation by proving that Madame Champlain had recognized the signature of her husband, and had stated that the expression and style were his. The terms of this bequest to the Virgin were quite natural to a man of Champlain's character, "When we know," said the attorney, "that he frequently made use of Christian expressions in his general conversation."

Although the authenticity of the will was proved, the attorney-general argued that it ought to be set aside in face of the deed of settlement. The court upheld this view, and the property of Champlain, with the exception of the sum of nine hundred livres, derived from the sale of his chattels, returned to his natural heirs.

This trial and other affairs prevented Madame Champlain from carrying out her resolution, and it was not until November 7th, 1645, that she entered the monastery of St. Ursula at Paris. She first entered the institution as a benefactress, and soon after became a novice under the name of Hélène de St. Augustin. There seems to have been some difficulties with regard to her profession as a nun, and she therefore resolved to found an Ursuline monastery at Meaux. Bishop Séguier granted the necessary permission to found the monastery, and also for her to take with her three nuns and a lay sister. Hélène de St. Augustin left Paris for Meaux on March 17th, 1648, and made her profession five months after. As a preparation for this solemn act, she made a public confession in the presence of the community. She also recited her faults, kneeling, and wearing a cord about her neck, and bearing a lighted taper in her hands. Mère Hélène de St. Augustin lived only six years in her convent at Meaux, and died on December 20th, 1654, at the age of fifty years, leaving the memory of a saintly life.

Eustache Boullé, the brother of Hélène de St. Augustin, became a convert to Catholicism through the intervention of his sister, and entered the Minim order. He was sent to Italy, where he lived for six years. During his sojourn there his sister sent to him one thousand livres a year, and at her death she bequeathed to him the sum of six thousand livres, and all her chattels, together with a pension of four hundred livres for life.

All those who have carefully studied the life of Champlain, have been impressed by the many brilliant qualities which he possessed. Some have praised his energy, his courage, his loyalty, his disinterestedness, and his probity. Others have admired the charity which he exhibited towards his neighbours, his zeal, his practical faith, his exalted views and his perseverance. The fact is, that in Champlain all these qualities were united to a prominent degree.

The contemporaries of Champlain did not perhaps appreciate his merits, or his heroic efforts as a founder. This is not altogether singular, for even in the physical world one cannot rightly estimate the altitude of a mountain by remaining close to its base, but at a distance a just appreciation of its proportions may be obtained.

If the contemporaries of Champlain failed to render him justice, posterity has made amends, and Time, the sole arbitrator of fame, has placed the founder of Quebec upon a pedestal of glory which will become more brilliant as the centuries roll on.

Nearly three centuries had elapsed since the heroic Saintongeais first set foot on the soil of Canada, when, at the close of the nineteenth century, a spectacle was witnessed in the city of his foundation which proved that the name of Champlain was graven on the hearts of all Canadians. The ceremonies attending the inauguration of the splendid monument which now adorns Quebec, have become a matter of history, and seldom could such a scene be repeated again. France and England, the two great nations from which Canadians have descended, each paid homage to the illustrious founder; nor can we forget the noble tribute which was paid by the latest English governor, representing Her Majesty Queen Victoria, to the first French governor, representing His Majesty the King of France and of Navarre.

It is seldom that the deeds of the great men of past ages have been more fittingly remembered. Champlain, as we have previously remarked, possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities necessary for a founder, and his character is therefore exceptional, for over and above all the heroism he displayed, all his perseverance, his devotion to his country, we behold the working of a Christian mind, and the desire to propagate the faith of his fathers.

What would have been the result of the missions without his aid? It was Champlain who caused the standard of our faith to be planted on the shores of Canada. It was he who brought the missionaries to

the new settlement, and maintained them at Quebec, at Tadousac, and in the Huron country. It was Champlain, too, who founded the parochial church of Quebec, and afterwards endowed it.

Champlain's work rested solely upon a religious foundation, hence his work has endured. It is true that the founder of Quebec had certain worldly ambitions: he desired to promote commerce between the French and the Indians, but surely this is not a matter for which he should be reproached. Without trade the inhabitants of the settlement could not exist, and without the development of the settlement, his work of civilization would necessarily end. He worked for the material prosperity of the settlement, but not to increase his own fortune. The development of trade was also essential to Champlain in his capacity of explorer, and it was only through this means that he could extend the bounds of his mother country. This was surely the wisdom of a true patriot. What nobler ambition on earth could any one have than this, to extend the kingdom of his God and of his king?

Champlain has been justly called *The Father of New France*, and this is certainly a glorious title. The name of Champlain is indissolubly associated with this country, and will live long after his contemporaries are forgotten, for many of them now only live through him.

America contains a number of towns which have carefully preserved the names of their founders,

whose memories are consecrated by monuments which will recall to future generations their noble work. But where is the town or state that can point to a founder whose work equalled that of Champlain? He had to spend thirty of the best years of his life in his endeavours to found a settlement on the shores of the St. Lawrence. Twenty times he crossed the Atlantic in the interests of the colony, and in the meantime he had constantly to combat the influence of the merchants who vigorously opposed the settlement of the French in Canada.

If we study the history of the mercantile companies from the years 1608 to 1627, we find on the one hand, a body of men absorbed by one idea, that of growing rich, and on the other hand, a man, anxious, it is true, to look after the material interests of the merchants and of the people, but hand in hand with this the desire to extend the dominion of his sovereign. Here was a vast country, capable of producing great wealth, and struggling for its possession was a body of avaricious men, while valiantly guarding its infancy, we find a single champion, the heroic Champlain. Champlain watched over the new settlement with the tender solicitude of a parent carefully protecting his offspring from danger, and ready to sacrifice his life to save it from disaster. In small vessels of sixty or eighty tons, Champlain had repeatedly exposed his life to danger in crossing the ocean. His health had also been exposed during the days and nights spent in the open forests, or when

passing on the dangerous rivers in his efforts to explore new territory. He was also constantly at the mercy of the Indians, whose treachery was proverbial. Under all these dangers and through all these conditions, Champlain's conduct was exemplary. He was charitable as a missionary towards these poor children of the woods. When threatened with hunger or malady, he relieved their wants and took care of the young children, some of whom he adopted. Others again he placed in French families, hoping that sooner or later they would be baptized into the fold of Christ's flock. In his intercourse with the chiefs, Champlain took occasion to explain to them the rudiments of the Christian faith, hoping thereby to pave the way for the work of the missionaries. Whenever he found any children that seemed more intelligent than usual, he sent them to France, where they could be instructed, and either enter a convent or take service in some good family. And who can tell whether some of these children did not afterwards become missionaries to their own country?

Champlain's prudence in his dealings with the savages was not less remarkable than his charity. This conduct gave him an influence over the Indians that no other Frenchman was able to obtain. The Indian tribes regarded Champlain as a father, but their love was mingled with a reverential fear, and every word and action was of deep significance to them. They had faith in Champlain, which after all

was not unusual, for he had never deceived them. Though they were barbarous and uncouth, and generally untruthful, they could distinguish the false from the true from the lips of a Frenchman. Being given to dissimulation themselves, they could appreciate sincerity in others.

Some writers have questioned Champlain's prudence touching the alliance which he made with some Indians for the purpose of fighting the aggressive Iroquois. We have already shown that if Champlain desired to maintain his settlement at Quebec, such an alliance was not only prudent, but essential. The Hurons and allied tribes, it is true, were barbarous, though not to so great an extent as the Iroquois, but they had the same vices and were as perfidious. The least discontent or whim would have been sufficient for the whole band to have swept the fort away. By making an alliance with them, and promising to assist them against their inveterate foes, it became to their advantage to support Champlain, and thus to render his people secure against attack. Moreover the numerical strength of the settlers in the early days was not sufficient for Champlain to have imposed terms by force of arms, and as it was necessary for his people to trade with the Indians, he could not have done better, under the circumstances, than to form this alliance, which insured business relations and protection for his countrymen.

This alliance was undoubtedly made at a sacrifice

to Champlain, and he had to suffer many humiliations and privations thereby. We cannot imagine that he found any pleasure in going to war with a lot of savages, or in fighting against a ferocious band, with whom neither he nor his people had any quarrel. It is certain that Champlain did not encourage them in their wars, and he was careful not to put any weapons into their hands. The same amount of prudence was not exercised by those who came after the French and endeavoured to colonize New England and New Netherland.

Champlain's policy was one of conciliation. He desired peace, harmony and charity above all things. As a respectful and obedient child of his mother, the Catholic Church, he was very anxious that her teachings and advice should be observed by those who were placed under his authority. Although in his early life he had followed the career of a soldier, still he regarded the profession of arms as useful only to put into question the ancient axiom, *Si vis pacem, para bellum.* Wars and quarrels had no attraction for Champlain, and he always preferred a friendly arrangement of any difficulty. He was a lover of peace, rather than of bloodshed, and the kindly nature of his disposition prevented him adopting vigorous measures.

Nevertheless, in the fulfilment of his duty as a judge, he was just, and would punish the guilty in order to restrain abuses or crimes. At this period there was no court of justice in New France, but

Champlain's commission empowered him to name officers to settle quarrels and disputes. There was a king's attorney, a lieutenant of the Prévôté, and a clerk of the Quebec jurisdiction, which had been established by the king. Champlain, however, was often called upon to decide a point of law, and we learn from his history that he was unable on account of death to settle a point which had arisen between two of Robert Giffard's farmers.

Champlain's authority was very extended, and whatever good may have resulted from his administration is due to the fact that he exercised his power with wisdom and prudence. Champlain's influence has expanded throughout the country wherever the French language is spoken, from the Huron peninsula, along the Algonquins' river, from Sault St. Louis, Tadousac and Quebec, and every one has recognized that Champlain alone, among the men of his day, had sufficient patriotism and confidence in the future of the colony to maintain and hold aloft under great difficulties, the lily banner of France on our Canadian shores.

After having founded Quebec, Champlain, with characteristic wisdom, chose the places where now stand the cities of Montreal and Three Rivers. He was particularly fortunate in his selections, and any buildings that he caused to be erected, were built from his own plans and under his own directions.

On the whole, Champlain's writings are very interesting, notwithstanding the fact that he is

somewhat diffuse in his style. Writing in the style of the commencement of the seventeenth century, we see traces, especially in his figures and descriptions, of the beauties of a language which was then in a transitory state. However, whether his style may be commended or condemned, it is of little consequence, since he has given to the world such ample details of his life and achievements as a discoverer, an explorer and a founder. His writings are the more remarkable from the fact that they were composed during the scanty leisure of his daily life, and we owe him a debt of gratitude for having sacrificed this leisure to give us such precious treasures.[1] Such was the life of this peerless man, whose incessant labours were dedicated to the service of God and the glory of France.

The city of Quebec is justly proud of her noble founder, and it is a source of gratification to the inhabitants to point to the stately monument which stands upon the spot consecrated by the life and death of Champlain. The inscription commemorates the great work of the founder, and of his explorations; but in the hearts of the people of Canada, Champlain has a still more precious monument, and the flourishing condition of our Dominion to-day is

[1] The last publication of Champlain bears the date of 1632, with the following title: *Les Voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale, dicte Canada, faits par le Sr. de Champlain Xainctongeois. Capitaine pour le Roy en la Marine du Ponant, et toutes les Descouvertures qu'il a faites en ce pays depuis l'an 1603, jusques en l'an 1629. MDCXXXII.* This volume is dedicated to Richelieu. According to M. Laverdière, it has been reissued, in 1640, with a new date and title.

but the unconscious outcome of the trial and labours of his heroic life.

All historians who have written of Champlain attribute to him the qualities which we have endeavoured to depict in these pages. Charlevoix, a Jesuit, and the author of the first great history of Canada, written about one hundred years after the death of the founder of New France, thus writes:

"Champlain died at Quebec, generally and justly regretted. M. de Champlain was, beyond contradiction, a man of merit, and may be well called, *The Father of New France.* He had good sense, much penetration, very upright views, and no man was ever more skilled in adopting a course in the most complicated affairs. What all admired most in him was his constancy in following up his enterprises, his firmness in the greatest dangers, a courage proof against the most unforeseen reverses and disappointments, ardent and disinterested patriotism, a heart tender and compassionate for the unhappy, and more attentive to the interests of his friends than his own, a high sense of honour and great probity. His memoirs show that he was not ignorant of anything that one of his profession should know, and we find in him a faithful and sincere historian, an attentively observant traveller, a judicious writer, a good mathematician and an able mariner.

" But what crowns all these good qualities is the fact that in his life, as well as in his writings, he shows himself always a truly Christian man, zealous

for the service of God, full of candour and religion. He was accustomed to say what we read in his memoirs, 'That the salvation of a single soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire, and that kings should seek to extend their domain in heathen countries only to subject them to Christ.' He thus spoke especially to silence those who, unduly prejudiced against Canada, asked what France would gain by settling it. Our kings, it is known, always spoke like Champlain on this point; and the conversion of the Indians was the chief motive which, more than once, prevented their abandoning a colony, the progress of which was so long retarded by our impatience, our inconstancy, and the blind cupidity of a few individuals. To give it a more solid foundation, it only required more respect for the suggestions of M. de Champlain, and more seasonable belief on the part of those who placed him in his position. The plan which he proposed was but too well justified by the failure of opposite maxims and conduct."

In 1880, the Reverend E. F. Slafter,[1] a Protestant

[1] Edmund Farwell Slafter was born in Norwich, Vt., on May 30th, 1816. He was graduated at Dartmouth in 1840, studied at Andover Theological Seminary, and in 1844 was ordained a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Since 1877 he has given his leisure time to historical studies. He has published, among other works, *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization,* in the series of the Prince Society (Boston, 1873), *Voyages of the Northmen to America,* edited with an introduction (1877), *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain,* translated from the French by Charles Pomeroy Otis, with historical illustrations and a memoir (three volumes, 1878, 1880, 1882).

minister, gave to the American nation an appreciative description of the virtues of Champlain, from which we quote the following passage: "In completing this memoir the reader can hardly fail to be impressed, not to say disappointed, by the fact that results apparently insignificant should thus far have followed a life of able, honest, unselfish, heroic labour. The colony was still small in numbers, the acres subdued and brought into cultivation were few, and the aggregate yearly products were meagre. But it is to be observed that the productiveness of capital and labour and talent, two hundred and seventy years ago, cannot well be compared with the standards of to-day. Moreover, the results of Champlain's career are insignificant rather in appearance than in reality. The work which he did was in laying foundations, while the superstructure was to be reared in other years and by other hands. The palace or temple, by its lofty and majestic proportions, attracts the eye and gratifies the taste; but its unseen foundations, with their nicely adjusted arches, without which the superstructure would crumble to atoms, are not less the result of the profound knowledge and practical wisdom of the architect. The explorations made by Champlain early and late, the organization and planting of his colonies, the resistance of avaricious corporations, the holding of numerous savage tribes in friendly alliance, the daily administration of the affairs of the colony, of the savages, and of the corporation in

France, to the eminent satisfaction of all generous and noble-minded patrons, and this for a period of more than thirty years, are proof of an extraordinary continuation of mental and moral qualities. Without impulsiveness, his warm and tender sympathies imparted to him an unusual power and influence over other men. He was wise, modest and judicious in council, prompt, vigorous and practical in administration, simple and frugal in his mode of life, persistent and unyielding in the execution of his plans, brave and valiant in danger, unselfish, honest and conscientious in the discharge of duty. These qualities, rare in combination, were always conspicuous in Champlain, and justly entitle him to the respect and admiration of mankind."

These two quotations are sufficient to supplement the observations that we have made, and there can be no doubt that posterity will forever confirm this opinion of the life and labours of the founder of New France, and that the name of Champlain will never be obliterated from the memory of Canadians.

# CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX

## CHRONOLOGICAL APPENDIX

1567 or 1570—Birth of Samuel Champlain.

1598—Champlain makes a voyage to Spain.

1599—Joins an expedition against the English to the West Indies.

1601—Returns from America.

1603—Goes to Canada as lieutenant of Aymar de Chastes, viceroy of New France, explores the river St. Lawrence to Sault St. Louis, and returns the same year.

1604—Follows de Monts' fortune in Acadia as geographer and historian of the expedition; lives on Ste. Croix Island and at Port Royal till the year 1607.

1608—As lieutenant of de Monts, viceroy of New France, Champlain crosses the Atlantic and founds Quebec.

1609—Champlain's expedition against the Iroquois. Leaves for France on September 5th.

1610—Champlain returns to Quebec and goes back to France the same year. His marriage with Hélène Boullé on December 30th, 1610.

1611—Champlain comes again to Quebec; founds Montreal; sails for France on July 20th. De Monts' company ceases to exist.

1612—Champlain sails for Canada and explores the country as far as Allumette Island. Goes to France. Comte de Soissons appointed viceroy of New France; dies soon after. The Prince de Condé takes his

place, and retains Champlain as his lieutenant.

1613—Champlain leaves France for Canada, where he stays till 1614.

1615—Returns to Quebec with the Récollet Fathers; he goes as far as the Huron country; particulars of these tribes, their customs, manners, etc.; Champlain assists them in a war against the Iroquois; follows them and comes back to the Huron country, where he spends the winter.

1616—Leaves for Quebec on May 20th; work of the missionaries in the meantime; meeting of the *habitants* and result of their deliberations; memorandum addressed to the king; Champlain goes to France.

1617—Champlain sails from Honfleur on April 11th for Quebec; Louis Hébert's family accompanies him.

1618—Champlain returns to France. Maréchal de Thémines appointed viceroy *per interim* after Condé's dismissal. Difficulties met by Champlain in 1617; his projects laid before the king. Champlain gains his point and preserves his former position.

1619—Condé sells his commission of viceroy to the Duke of Montmorency; Champlain's new commission of lieutenant of the viceroy. Company of Montmorency formed by the Duke of Montmorency.

1620—Champlain comes back to Quebec with his wife, and stays there till the year 1624.

1621—Champlain receives his instructions from Montmorency and from the king; entitled to help the new company of merchants;

conflict at Quebec between the agents of the old and of the new company; Champlain's firm attitude settles the matter.

1622—The Company of Montmorency rules the country.

1624—Champlain recrosses the ocean, bringing his wife.

1625—Arrival of the Jesuits. Champlain at Tadousac and at Quebec; his intercourse with the Montagnais; the duc de Ventadour named viceroy of New France; Champlain reappointed lieutenant.

1627—Ventadour resigns his office; Cardinal Richelieu organizes the Company of the Hundred Associates; privileges granted to them; Champlain still living at Quebec.

1628—Roquemont sent to Quebec with provisions; his vessels taken by Kirke; Quebec in danger; correspondence between David Kirke and Champlain; the enemy retires; distress at Quebec for the want of food.

1629—Kirke before Quebec; the capitulation; fate of the inhabitants; the missionaries return to France together with Champlain; the last events at Tadousac.

1629-32—Champlain goes to London; negotiations between France and England through the French ambassador; Champlain's visits to the king, and to Cardinal Richelieu; Charles I ready to restore Canada, with certain conditions.

1632—The Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye terminates the dispute between the two countries, and Quebec is restored to France.

1632—Arrival at Quebec of the Jesuits; history of their convent since 1626.

1633—Champlain's arrival in Quebec; history of the seminary of Notre Dame des Anges since its foundation; the Jesuits' missions at Miscou Island, in the Maritime Provinces, Acadia, Baie des Chaleurs and Cape Breton. Champlain erects a church at Quebec.

1634—Immigration of French colonists from Perche; Robert Giffard.

1635—Champlain's sickness and death; his wife founds an Ursuline convent at Meaux.

# INDEX

# INDEX


A

Aïandacé, Huron seminarist, 232
Alexander, Sir William, his mission, 176; his charters, 223
Alix, Marguerite, Champlain's mother-in-law, 66
Alix, Simon, Hélène Boullé's uncle, 66, 170
Anadabijou, chief of the Montagnais, 50, 51, 55, 139
Andehoua, Huron seminarist, 232, 233
Antons, Captain des, 31
Armand-Jean, christian name of Andehoua, 33
Arragon, notary, 66
Atarohiat, Huron seminarist, 233
Ateiachias, Huron seminarist, 233
Atokouchioüani, Huron seminarist, 233
Aubert, Pierre, 170
Aubéri, Father, his labours in Acadia, 236
Aubry, priest, 24
Aumont, Marshal, d', 1

B

Bancroft, quoted, 87
Barbier, 66
Batiscan, chief of the Montagnais, 68
Beauchesne, clerk, 115
Beaulieu, councillor and almoner to the king, 72
Bellois, Corneille de, 122, 127
Bentivoglio, Guido, papal nuncio, 84
Berkeley, Sir John, commands Porto Rico, 3
Bessabé, chief of the Souriquois, 28
Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, 38; bound for Port Royol, 68
Bignon, attorney-general, 265
Boileau, attorney, 265
Bonneau, Thomas, 170
Bonnerme, surgeon, accompanies Champlain when Quebec is founded, 41; one of the jury who condemned Jean Duval to death, 43; dies, 46
Bontemps, captain, 252
Boues, Charles de, Récollet, syndic of Canadian Missions, 117, 148
Boulay, his residence at Port Royal, 25
Boullé, Eustache, Champlain's brother-in-law, 134, 136; arrives in 1613, 145; goes to France in 1626, 155, 209; enters the Minim Order, 267
Boullé, Hélène, marries Champlain, 66; comes to Quebec and returns to France, 141; her sojourn at Quebec, 263, 264, 265, 266
Boullé, Nicholas, Champlain's father-in-law, 66; pays his daughter's inheritance to Champlain, 67

Bourdon, Jean, comes to Canada, 252; settles at Quebec, 253
Bourioli at Port Royal, 25
Bouthillier, represents the king of France, 220; signs the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 222
Boyer, Daniel, 122, 123
Brébeuf, Father Jean de, estimates the Huron population, 90; his opinion of the tribe de l'Ours and other Hurons, 92, 93; arrives in New France, 152; assailed by Jacques Michel, 201, 202; leaves for France, 207, 208; returns to Canada, 228; goes to the Huron country, 249
Brûlé, Étienne, with Champlain founding Quebec, 41; sets out for the Ottawa River, 88, 139; interpreter, 143, 144; sent to Three Rivers, 163; betrays Champlain, 194, 202; his excuse, 203; his murder, 246
Bullion, represents France, 220; signs the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 222
Burel, Friar Gilbert, arrives in Canada, 152; returns to France, 208
Burlamachi, appointed commissioner, 218; sent to France by Charles I, 220, 222

C

Cabahis, Souriquois chief, 28
Caën, Emery de, nephew of Guillaume de Caën, 137; vice-admiral of the fleet, 156; leaves Quebec to carry on trade, 157; his character, 182; defends the colony, 183; fights with Kirke, 184; surrenders, 185; proceeds to Quebec, 199; failure of his expedition, 201; tries to secure his goods, 219, 220; comes back to Quebec, 226; banqueted, 228; summoned by Champlain, 249
Caën, Ezechiel de, member of the Company of Rouen, 132, 137
Caën, Guillaume de, member of de Caën's Company, 130, 132; conflicts with Pont-Gravé, 135; his promises, 136; sails for France, 138; present at Cape de la Victoire, 139; visits Quebec and its vicinity, 140; sails for France, 141; returns with the Jesuits, 152; appears before the state council, 155; supports the conduct of the merchants, 157; condones a murderer, 161; his character, 182, 183; his claims, 217, 218, 219
Camaret, Marie, cousin of Champlain, 265
Cananée, Guillaume, navigator, 141
Cartier, Jacques, 13, 22, 23, 28, 29, 34, 35, 45, 52
Casgrain, l'Abbé, his opinion on the site of Champlain's tomb, 261, 262
Castillon, Jacques, one of the Hundred Associates, 168; offers pictures to Quebec church, 240
Caumont, underclerk, 121
Champdoré, carpenter, 22, 34
Champlain, Antoine, father of Samuel, 1
Champlain, Samuel, see chronological appendix, 283-6

Charlevoix, Father, quoted, 36, 248, 276
Charton, Friar François, 152, 208
Chastes, Aymar de, 7; viceroy of Canada, 8, 9
Chateauneuf, M. de, French ambassador in England, 211; retires from his position, 214; exchanges documents with Fontenay-Mareuil, 216
Chauvin, Pierre, Sieur de la Pierre, at Tadousac, 54; trades in peltry, 63
Chauvin, Pierre de, Sieur de Tontuit, viceroy of Canada, 8, 13, 17, 41, 54
Cheffault, lawyer of Paris, 244
Chenu, Marcel, merchant of Paris, 66
Cherououny, Montagnais chief, 163
Choquillot, notary, 66
Chou, Iuan, Indian friend of Champlain, 181
Clifford, Sir George, 3
Cloutier, Zacharie, comes with Giffard, 252
Cochon, Thomas, merchant, 122
Collier, 56
Condé, Prince de, viceroy of Canada, 73; gives a passport to Captain Maisonneuve, 78; letter from Champlain, 79; contributes to the Récollet fund, 117; conspires against the Queen Regent, 122; discharged from prison, 129
Coton, Father, a Jesuit, 151, 152
Couillard, Elizabeth, a daughter of Guillaume, 225
Couillard, Guillaume, signs the settlers' memorandum, 136; arrives in Canada, 145; his family 146, 184, 195, 196, 208; native of St. Malo, 250
Couillard, Henry, captain of the *Don de Dieu*, 39
Couillard, Jacques, interpreter, 144; submits to Kirke, 185
Cramoisy, Sébastien, one of the Hundred Associates, 171

D

Dablon, Simon, one of the Hundred Associates, 168
Daniel, Captain, destroys an English fort at Cape Breton, 200, 212
Daniel, Doctor, sent to London, 212, 213
Daniel, Father, director of the Seminary of Notre Dame des Anges, 231, 237
Darache, Captain, trades furs at Tadousac, 40
Darontal, chief of the tribe de la Roche, 103; Champlain's friend, 106
Davost, Father, missionary at Cape Breton, 237
Denys, Charles, settles on the shores of Miramichi River, 237
Denys, Nicholas, founds Fort St. Pierre, 236
Deschamps, surgeon, performs an autopsy at Port Royal, 33
Des Marets, Claude Godet, note on his family, 47, 60; accompanies Champlain's expedition against the Iroquois, 52; arrives from France, 63; present at Cape de la Victoire, 139; Pont-Gravé's grandson, 181

Desportes, Hélène, 146, 208
Desportes, Pierre, 136, 145, 146, 181, 196, 208
Destouches, Eustache Boullé's lieutenant, 155, 209
Dollebeau, Father, perishes at sea, 235
Dolu, intendant of New France, 130, 131, 132, 135
Doughty, A. G., quoted, 168
Duchesne, Adrien, surgeon, 145, 146, 147, 196, 208
Duchesne, Captain, 139
Duchesne, David, one of the Hundred Associates, 168
Du Marché, Father, at Miscou, 234
Dumay, Captain, 133, 134
Dumoulin, shot by an Indian, 164
Du Parc, Jean Godet, his family, 47, 60; commands at Quebec, 64, 68
Du Plessis, Friar Pacifique, 85, 117
Duplessis-Bochart, presents pictures to Quebec church, 240; receives the keys of the fort, 249
Duval, Jean, at Quebec when founded, 41; leads a conspiracy against Champlain, 42; sentenced to death, 43
Du Vernet, interpreter, 144

E

Effiat, duke d', heads the list of the Hundred Associates, 170
Endemare, Father d', at Cape Breton, 237
Eon, Pierre, member of the Company of St. Malo and Rouen, 122

F

Faillon, quoted, 207
Féret, 7
Fontenay-Mareuil, French ambassador in England, 214; exchanges documents with Chateauneuf, 216
Foucher, Jean, at Cape Tourmente, 176, 208
Franchise, Sieur de la, 14
Frémin, Father, at the Richibucto mission, 235

G

Gaillon, Michel, put to death, 43, 44
Galleran, Father G., 149
Gamache, Marquis de, contributes to the foundation of the Jesuits' College, 228
Gand, see Ré
Garnier de Chapouin, provincial of the Récollets, 85
Gates, Sir Thomas, his letters patent, 223
Gaufestre, Friar Jean, 209
Genestou, at Port Royal, 25
Gesvres, de, 9
Giffard, Robert, surgeon, 164, 174; comes to Canada, 250; receives lands, 251, 252
Godefroy, Jean-Paul, interpreter, 144
Godefroy, Thomas, interpreter, 144
Gomara, Lopez de, 6
Gondoin, Father N., missionary at Miscou, 234
Goudon, Elizabeth, Gervase Kirke's wife, 173
Gravé, François, grandson of Pont-Gravé, 47

Gravé, François, Sieur du Pont, accompanies Champlain to Tadousac, 8; comes to Canada in 1603, 9; proceeds to Sault St. Louis, 13; Champlain awaits him at Port au Mouton, 19; at Ste. Croix, 32; returns to France, 33; at Tadousac, 40; one of the jury to judge Duval, 43; sails for France in 1608, 45; arrives at Tadousac, 1609, 47; commands the habitation of Quebec, 48; his promise to Anadabijou, 51; returns to France, 54; receives the command of a fur trading vessel, 56, 57; trades in peltry, 63; sails for France, 64; returns to Canada, 106; trades at Three Rivers, 121; Champlain's rival, 125; represents the old company, 133; arrives at Quebec, 134; his conflict with Guillaume de Caën, 135; chief clerk at Quebec, 138; at Cape de la Victoire, 139; sails for France, 141; his illness, 156; Champlain reads publicly his commission, 181, 182; signs articles of capitulation, 191; leaves for Tadousac, 196.

Gravé, Jeanne, 47

Gravé, Robert, son of François, accompanies Champlain on a voyage of discovery along the American coast, 34

Gravé, Vincent, merchant of Rouen, 122

Groux, J., signs a memorandum, 136

Gua, Pierre du, Sieur de Monts, see Monts

Guers, J. B., delegate of the Duke of Montmorency, 121, 133, 134, 136; returns to France, 141

Guilbault, merchant of La Rochelle, 236

Guines, Friar Modeste, 115

Guyon, Jean, mason, comes from Perche, 252

H

Halard, Jacques, captain, 136

Hébert, Anne, 117

Hébert, Guillaume, 146, 208

Hébert, Guillemette, 146, 208

Hébert, Louis, comes to Quebec with family, 111, 112; signs a memorandum, 136; his family, 146; at Port Royal, 147; his death, 148, 250, 251

Hébert, Louise, 146

Hébert, Madame, see Rollet, Marie.

Hersault, Jacques, comptroller of customs at La Rochelle, 265

Hertel, Jacques, interpreter, 144

Hervé, François, merchant of Rouen, 132

Honabetha, Indian chief, 30

Hoüel, Louis, Sieur de Petit-Pré, enters into Champlain's views, 83; one of the Hundred Associates, 168, 170

Hubou, Guillaume, 181, 196, 208

Huet, Father Paul, arrives in Canada, 87; constructs a chapel at Tadousac, 112

I

Incarnation, Sister Marie de l', 253, 258

Insterlo, Mathieu d', one of the Company of Rouen, 122, 127
Iroquet, Indian chief, 48

J

Jacques, a Slavonian miner, 32
Jamet, Father Denis, arrives in Canada and celebrates the first mass, 85, 107; goes to France, 111, 112; signs a memorandum, 136
Jeannin, President, 72
Jogues, Father Isaac, 207
Jonquest, Étienne, Hébert's son-in-law, his death, 117; arrives in 1617, 145
Joubert, Captain, 141
Juchereau, Jean, comes with Giffard, 252

K

Kirke, David, intends to make an assault on Quebec, 173; appointed captain of the fleet, 176; writes to Champlain, 177, 178; captures French barques, 179; abandons Quebec, 180; accepts articles of capitulation, 192; visits Quebec, 204; at Tadousac, 205; his pretentions as to de Caën's claims, 217; refuses to pay, 218; dissatisfied with the agreement, 219
Kirke, Gervase, chief of the Kirke family, 173
Kirke, James, son of Gervase, 173
Kirke, John, son of Gervase, 173
Kirke, Louis, resides in Fort St. Louis, 158; writes to Champlain, 188; interviews Father de la Roche, 189, 190; his answer to Champlain, 191, 192; receives the keys of the fort, 195; hoists the English flag, 196; treats Champlain well, 199; his conduct towards the Jesuits, 205
Kirke, Thomas, signs a letter to Champlain, 188; takes part in an interview with Father de la Roche, 189; signs the answer to Champlain, 192; treats Emery de Caën as a pirate, 220

L

Lalemant, Father Charles, quoted, 87; arrives at Quebec, 152; his letter to the Provincial of the Récollets, 154; comes back to Quebec, 200; abandons Canada, 227; teacher, 229; parish priest, 238, 239
Lalemant, Father Jérôme, 10
Lamontagne, interpreter, 144
La Motte, at Port Royal, 25
L'Ange, Captain, 78
Langlois, Françoise, 146, 208
Langlois, Marguerite, 146, 208
Langlois, Noël, 252
Langoissieux, Pierre, takes the monastic habit, 149; returns to France, 209
La Place, Father de, at Miscou, 234
La Roche d'Aillon, Father, arrives at Quebec, 152; interviews Louis Kirke, 188, 189; relates his interview, 190; returns to France, 208
La Routte, pilot, 52
La Taille, at Quebec when founded, 41
Lattaignant, Gabriel de, one of the Hundred Associates, 168, 170

Lauzon, Jean de, 170, 226
Laval, Bishop, 237, 253
Lavalette, a Basque, 59, 60
La Vallée, godfather of young Hurons, 233
Laverdière, antiquarian, 261, 275
Le Baillif, underclerk at Tadousac, 138; arrives in 1623, 144; takes charge of the storehouse, 195; betrays Champlain, 202; his bad character, 204; remains in Canada, 208
Le Baillif, Father George, his Relation of 1633, 87; confers with Champlain, 133; goes to Tadousac, 134; his mission in France, 136; returns to Quebec, 137
Le Borgne, E., takes Fort St. Pierre, 236
Le Caron, Father Joseph, appointed for Canadian missions, 85; proceeds to the Huron country, 88; returns from the Petuneux, 104; receives a visit from Champlain, 106; returns to Quebec, 107; goes to France, 111, 115; goes to Tadousac, 116; his mission at Three Rivers, 117; signs a memorandum, 136; goes to the Huron country, 149; consults with Champlain, 187; leaves for France, 208
Le Clercq, Father C., quoted, 112, 258
Le Faucheur, a Parisian, 174
Legendre, Lucas, merchant of Rouen, 56, 57, 122, 127
Le Jeune, Father, his Relation of 1633, 87; says mass in Hébert's house, 148; writes to his Provincial, 230, 231, 239; informs Madame Champlain that she is free to follow her own desires, 264
Lemaistre, Simon, one of the Hundred Associates, 170
Lemoyne, Father Simon, 208
Le Roy, Marguerite, Champlain's mother, 1
Lesage, Marguerite, Pivert's wife, 146, 208
Lesaige, François, attends when Champlain's marriage settlements are made, 66
Lesaige, Geneviève, attends when Champlain's marriage settlements are made, 66
Lescarbot, Marc, 20, 21, 25, 35; composes a drama, 36; poet and preacher, 37; returns to France, 38
Le Sire, clerk, 138
Lesseps, Ferdinand de, 6
Le Tardif, Olivier, signs a memorandum, 136; interpreter, 144, 208
Le Testu, Captain, arrives at Quebec, 42; entertainment on board of his barque, 43
L'Huillier, Raoul, one of the Hundred Associates, 170
Linschot, quoted, 211
Loquin, clerk, 121, 139
Lormel, Captain de, 252
Lumagne, merchant, 221
Lyonne, Father de, at Nipisiguit, 235

M

Magnan, Pierre; joins an embassy to the Five Nations, 163; murdered, 164

Mahicanaticouche, chief of the Montagnais, 139, 163; murderer of two Frenchmen, 164, 165
Maisonneuve, captain, 78, 79
Malot, Friar Louis, drowned at sea, 200
Manet, Jean, interpreter, 144
Manitougatche, Indian chief, 187
Marchim, Indian chief, 34
Mariana, Father 153
Marion, Nicholas, captain, 40
Marsolet, Nicholas, present at Quebec in 1608, 41, 143; interpreter, 144; betrays Champlain, 194, 202; his character, 203, 204, 205; remains at Quebec, 208
Martin, Abraham, 145, 146, 147, 196, 208
Martin, Anne, 146
Martin, Charles Amador, priest, 146
Martin, Sir Henry, commissioner, 214
Martin, Marguerite, 146
Martin, Nicholas, commands the *Jonas*, 37
Marye, Anthoine, 66
Massé, Father E., arrives in Canada, 152; objects to the profanation of a chalice, 206; returns to France, 207, 208, 227; comes back, 228
May, Sir Humphrey, commissioner, 214
Membertou, *sagamo* of the Souriquois, 36
Messamouet, captain of the Souriquois 22, 34
Michel, Jacques, insults Father de Brébeuf, 201; his lamented death, 202
Miristou, Montagnais, 159
Mohier, Friar Gervais, 208
Montmagny, Governor, 158
Montmorency, Charles de, admiral of France, 14; succeeds Condé as viceroy of New France, 129; his administration, 130; letter to Champlain, 130, 131; his gift to Guillaume de Caën, 140; meets Champlain at St. Germain-en-Laye, 150; resigns his position of viceroy, 151; put to death, 215
Monts, Pierre du Gua, Sieur de, lieutenant-general in Acadia, 17; forms a company of merchants, 18; his expedition to America, 19, 20; his settlement at Ste. Croix, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; decides to seek a more suitable place, 26; explores the southern country, 29; the river Gua, 30; determines to try Port Royal as a settlement, 31; returns to France, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36; obtains a new commission, 39, 40; meets Champlain at Fontainebleau, 55; his commission expiring, requests a new one, 56; meets Champlain, 57; attends when Champlain's marriage settlements are made, 66; his interviews with Champlain, 67, 70; holds a conference with the merchants of Rouen, 71; bound to colonize New France with Catholic settlers, 86
Moreau, quoted, 25
Morel, Captain, 112
Motin, his ode to Champlain, 72
Murad, Anthoine de, 66

N

Napagabiscou, Indian chief, 176
Natel, Antoine, at Quebec in 1608, 41; acquaints Captain Le Testu with the details of Duval's plot, 43; dies from scurvy, 46
Nesle, Captain de, 252
Nicholas, signs a memorandum, 136
Nicolet, Jean, interpreter, 144
Noël, Pierre, 66
Noüe, Father Anne de, 207, 208, 227
Nouveau, Arnould de, merchant of Rouen, 132
Noyrot, Father, 168, 177, 178, 200, 227

O

Ochateguin, Indian chief, 48; his alliance with Champlain, 55; commands the Hurons, 69; fights against the Iroquois, is wounded, 103
Olbeau, Father Jean d', arrives in Quebec, 85, 88; visits the Bersiamites, 107; celebrates the first jubilee, 114; lays the first stone of the Récollet convent, 148; sees its door closed in 1629, 167
Olmechin, Indian chief, 34
Orville, d', at Ste. Croix, 25
Otis, Charles Pomeroy, translates the *Voyages of Champlain*, 277
Ouanda Koka, Huron chief, 233
Orani, Huron chief wounded in 1615, 103
Overman, finds Champlain's astrolabe, 76

P

Palma Cayet, Victor, 15
Parkman, quoted, 228
Perrault, Father, at Cape Breton, 236, 237
Piat, Father L., goes to France, 141; to the Montagnais, 149, 150
Pillet, Charles, murdered, 161, 163
Piraube, Martial, godfather of young Hurons, 233
Pivert, Nicholas, 144, 146, 181, 196, 208
Pont-Gravé, see Gravé, François, Sieur du Pont
Poullain, Father G., comes to Canada, 87, 116; goes to the Nipissing mission, 149
Poutrincourt, Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de, goes to America with de Monts, 19; joins Champlain on a voyage of discovery, 34; plants a cross at Port Fortuné, 35; leaves for France, 38
Prévert, informs Champlain of the existence of a copper mine, 14
Provençal, Captain, Champlain's uncle, 2
Purchas, 15

Q

Quen, Father J. de, second parish priest of Quebec, 238, 239
Quentin, Barthélemy, one of the Hundred Associates, 170
Quentin, Bonaventure, 170
Quentin, Father Claude, superior of the Canadian missions, 234

R

Ragois, Claude le, merchant of Rouen, 132

Ralde, Raymond de la, 138; goes to France, 141; admiral of the fleet, 155; note on his life, 156
Ralleau, de Monts' secretary, 33
Ravenel, Jehan, 66
Raymbault, Father, buried in Champlain's tomb, 262
Razilly, Isaac de, one of the Hundred Associates, 170; ordered to assist Quebec, 200; his commission cancelled, 201, 213
Ré, François de, Sieur Gand, one of the Hundred Associates, 171; a good Catholic, 239; buried in Champlain's tomb, 262
Repentigny, godfather of young Hurons, 233
Reye, Pierre, signs a memorandum, 136; traitor, 194, 202, 204, 208
Richard, Father A., at Richibucto and Miscou, 235
Richer, Jean, interpreter, 144
Roberval, at Charlesbourg Royal, 23
Robin, Guillaume, merchant of Rouen, 132
Robineau, Pierre, one of the Hundred Associates, 170
Roernan, Jehan, 66
Rollet, Marie, widow Hébert, 112, 146, 208
Roquemont, Claude de, 168; commands a fleet for Quebec, 172; meets English vessels, 173; surrenders to David Kirke, 174; his conduct criticized, 175
Rouer, Hercule, 66
Rouvier, underclerk, 121, 135
Rozée, Jean, one of the Hundred Associates, 170; merchant of Rouen, 244
Russell, A. J., 76

S

Sagard-Théodat, Friar Récollet, at Cape de la Victoire, 139; returns to France, 141; goes to the Huron country, 149; quoted, 193
Santein, clerk, 138
Satouta, Huron seminarist, 232
Savignon, Huron boy accepted as hostage, 63; goes to Sault St. Louis, 68; brother of Tregouaroti, Indian chief, 69
Schoudon, Indian chief, 32
Séguier, Bishop of Meaux, agrees to the founding of an Ursuline convent at Meaux, 266
Slafter, Reverend E. B., quoted, 277, 278, 279
Soissons, comte de, appointed viceroy of New France, 72, 73; his death, 73
Soubriago, General, 2
Sourin, at Ste. Croix Island, 25
Stuart, James, Scottish fisherman, erects a fort on Cape Breton, 200

T

Teouatirhon, Huron seminarist, 232
Tessouat, chief of the Algonquins, 75, 76, 77
Thémines, Maréchal de, appointed viceroy of New France, 122, 123
Thierry-Desdames, appointed captain at Miscou, 121; note on his life, 138; 173, 181, 209

Tregatin, Indian chief, 176
Tregouaroti, Huron Chief, 69
Troyes, François de, merchant of the Company of Rouen, 132
Trublet, Pierre, merchant of St. Malo, 122
Tsiko, Huron seminarist, 232, 233
Tuffet, Jean, merchant of Bordeaux, 170
Turgis, Father C., at Miscou, 234

V

Vanelly, merchant, 221
Vendremur, Corneille de, clerk, 204, 209
Ventadour, duc de, receives the commission of viceroy of New France, 151; resigns the office, 168
Verazzano, 211
Verger, Father du, Récollet, 83
Vermeulle, Louis, merchant, 122, 127
Verton, Pierre de, merchant 132
Viel, Father N., at Cape de la Victoire, 139; goes to the Huron country, 149
Vieux-Pont, Father de, 200, 237
Vignau, Nicholas du, interpreter, 74, 75, 77, 144
Vigne, Captain de la, 141
Villemenon, intendant of admiralty, 123, 130, 132, 135
Vimont, Father, drowned at sea, 200, 237
Vitelleschi, Father, general of the Jesuits, 228

W

Wake, Sir Isaac, English ambassador to France, 215; commissioner, 218, 219, 220; signs the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 222

# BISHOP LAVAL

francois euesque de guebet

*THE MAKERS OF CANADA*

# BISHOP LAVAL

BY

A. LEBLOND DE BRUMATH

TORONTO
MORANG & CO., LIMITED
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# CONTENTS


| | Page |
|---|---|
| *CHAPTER I* | |
| ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CANADA . . . . . | 1 |
| *CHAPTER II* | |
| THE EARLY YEARS OF FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL . | 15 |
| *CHAPTER III* | |
| THE SOVEREIGN COUNCIL . . . . | 31 |
| *CHAPTER IV* | |
| ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEMINARY . . | 47 |
| *CHAPTER V* | |
| MGR. DE LAVAL AND THE SAVAGES . . | 61 |
| *CHAPTER VI* | |
| SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY . . . | 77 |
| *CHAPTER VII* | |
| THE SMALLER SEMINARY . . . . | 97 |
| *CHAPTER VIII* | |
| THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONY . . | 113 |

# BISHOP LAVAL


*CHAPTER IX* Page

BECOMES BISHOP OF QUEBEC . . . 129

*CHAPTER X*

FRONTENAC IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR . 143

*CHAPTER XI*

A TROUBLED ADMINISTRATION . . . 157

*CHAPTER XII*

THIRD VOYAGE TO FRANCE . . . 169

*CHAPTER XIII*

LAVAL RETURNS TO CANADA . . . 181

*CHAPTER XIV*

RESIGNATION OF MGR. DE LAVAL . . 195

*CHAPTER XV*

MGR. DE LAVAL COMES FOR THE LAST TIME TO CANADA . . . . . 211

*CHAPTER XVI*

MASSACRE OF LACHINE . . . 223

*CHAPTER XVII*

THE LABOURS OF OLD AGE . . . 235

*CHAPTER XVIII*

LAST DAYS OF MGR. DE LAVAL . . 249

# CONTENTS


*CHAPTER XIX* Page

DEATH OF MGR. DE LAVAL . . 261

INDEX . . . . . 271

# CHAPTER I

## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CANADA

IF, standing upon the threshold of the twentieth century, we cast a look behind us to note the road traversed, the victories gained by the great army of Christ, we discover everywhere marvels of abnegation and sacrifice; everywhere we see rising before us the dazzling figures of apostles, of doctors of the Church and of martyrs who arouse our admiration and command our respect. There is no epoch, no generation, even, which has not given to the Church its phalanx of heroes, its quota of deeds of devotion, whether they have become illustrious or have remained unknown.

Born barely three centuries ago, the Christianity of New France has enriched history with pages no less glorious than those in which are enshrined the lofty deeds of her elders. To the list, already long, of workers for the gospel she has added the names of the Récollets and of the Jesuits, of the Sulpicians and of the Oblate Fathers, who crossed the seas to plant the faith among the hordes of barbarians who inhabited the immense regions today known as the Dominion of Canada.

And what daring was necessary, in the early

days of the colony, to plunge into the vast forests of North America! Incessant toil, sacrifice, pain and death in its most terrible forms were the price that was gladly paid in the service of God by men who turned their backs upon the comforts of civilized France to carry the faith into the unknown wilderness.

Think of what Canada was at the beginning of the seventeenth century! Instead of these fertile provinces, covered to-day by luxuriant harvests, man's gaze met everywhere only impenetrable forests in which the woodsman's axe had not yet permitted the plough to cleave and fertilize the soil; instead of our rich and populous cities, of our innumerable villages daintily perched on the brinks of streams, or rising here and there in the midst of verdant plains, the eye perceived only puny wigwams isolated and lost upon the banks of the great river, or perhaps a few agglomerations of smoky huts, such as Hochelaga or Stadaconé; instead of our iron rails, penetrating in all directions, instead of our peaceful fields over which trains hasten at marvellous speed from ocean to ocean, there were but narrow trails winding through a jungle of primeval trees, behind which hid in turn the Iroquois, the Huron or the Algonquin, awaiting the propitious moment to let fly the fatal arrow; instead of the numerous vessels bearing over the waves of the St. Lawrence, at a distance of more than six hundred leagues from the sea,

the products of the five continents; instead of yonder floating palaces, thronged with travellers from the four corners of the earth, then only an occasional bark canoe came gliding slyly along by the reeds of the shore, scarcely stopping except to permit its crew to kindle a fire, to make prisoners or to scalp some enemy.

A heroic courage was necessary to undertake to carry the faith to these savage tribes. It was condemning one's self to lead a life like theirs, of ineffable hardships, dangers and privations, now in a bark canoe and paddle in hand, now on foot and bearing upon one's shoulders the things necessary for the holy sacrament; in the least case it was braving hunger and thirst, exposing one's self to the rigours of an excessive cold, with which European nations were not yet familiar; it often meant hastening to meet the most horrible tortures. In spite of all this, however, Father Le Caron did not hesitate to penetrate as far as the country of the Hurons, while Fathers Sagard and Viel were sowing the first seeds of Christianity in the St. Lawrence valley. The devotion of the Récollets, to the family of whom belonged these first missionaries of Canada, was but ill-rewarded, for, after the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which restored Canada to France, the king refused them permission to return to a region which they had watered with the sweat of their brows and fertilized with their blood.

The humble children of St. Francis had already evangelized the Huron tribes as far as the Georgian Bay, when the Company of the Cent Associés was founded by Richelieu. The obligation which the great cardinal imposed upon them of providing for the maintenance of the propagators of the gospel was to assure the future existence of the missions. The merit, however, which lay in the creation of a society which did so much for the furtherance of Roman Catholicism in North America is not due exclusively to the great cardinal, for Samuel de Champlain can claim a large share of it. "The welfare of a soul," said this pious founder of Quebec, "is more than the conquest of an empire, and kings should think of extending their rule in infidel countries only to assure therein the reign of Jesus Christ."

Think of the suffering endured, in order to save a soul, by men who for this sublime purpose renounced all that constitutes the charm of life! Not only did the Jesuits, in the early days of the colony, brave horrible dangers with invincible steadfastness, but they even consented to imitate the savages, to live their life, to learn their difficult idioms. Let us listen to this magnificent testimony of the Protestant historian Bancroft:—

"The horrors of a Canadian life in the wilderness were resisted by an invincible, passive courage, and a deep, internal tranquillity. Away from the amenities of life, away from the opportunities of

vain-glory, they became dead to the world, and possessed their souls in unalterable peace. The few who lived to grow old, though bowed by the toils of a long mission, still kindled with the fervour of apostolic zeal. The history of their labours is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French Canada; not a cape was turned nor a river entered but a Jesuit led the way."

Must we now recall the edifying deaths of the sons of Loyola, who brought the glad tidings of the gospel to the Hurons?—Father Jogues, who returned from the banks of the Niagara with a broken shoulder and mutilated hands, and went back, with sublime persistence, to his barbarous persecutors, to pluck from their midst the palm of martyrdom; Father Daniel, wounded by a spear while he was absolving the dying in the village of St. Joseph; Father Brébeuf, refusing to escape with the women and children of the hamlet of St. Louis, and expiring, together with Father Gabriel Lalemant, in the most frightful tortures that Satan could suggest to the imagination of a savage; Father Charles Garnier pierced with three bullets, and giving up the ghost while blessing his converts; Father de Noue dying on his knees in the snow!

These missions had succumbed in 1648 and 1649 under the attacks of the Iroquois. The venerable founder of St. Sulpice, M. Olier, had foreseen this misfortune; he had always doubted the success of

missions so extended and so widely scattered without a centre of support sufficiently strong to resist a systematic and concerted attack of all their enemies at once. Without disapproving the despatch of these flying columns of missionaries which visited tribe after tribe (perhaps the only possible method in a country governed by pagan chiefs), he believed that another system of preaching the gospel would produce, perhaps with less danger, a more durable effect in the regions protected by the flag of France. Taking up again the thought of the Benedictine monks, who have succeeded so well in other countries, M. Olier and the other founders of Montreal wished to establish a centre of fervent piety which should accomplish still more by example than by preaching. The development and progress of religious work must increase with the material importance of this centre of proselytism. In consequence, success would be slow, less brilliant, but surer than that ordinarily obtained by separate missions. This was, at least, the hope of our fathers, and we of Quebec would seem unjust towards Providence and towards them if, beholding the present condition of the two seminaries of this city, of our Catholic colleges, of our institutions of every kind, and of our religious orders, we did not recognize that their thought was wise, and their enterprise one of prudence and blessed by God.

Up to 1658 New France belonged to the jurisdiction of the Bishops of St. Malo and of Rouen.

At the time of the second voyage of Cartier, in 1535, his whole crew, with their officers at their head, confessed and received communion from the hands of the Bishop of St. Malo. This jurisdiction lasted until the appointment of the first Bishop of New France. The creation of a diocese came in due time; the need of an ecclesiastical superior, of a character capable of imposing his authority, made itself felt more and more. Disorders of all kinds crept into the colony, and our fathers felt the necessity of a firm and vigorous arm to remedy this alarming state of affairs. The love of lucre, of gain easily acquired by the sale of spirituous liquors to the savages, brought with it evils against which the missionaries endeavoured to react.

François de Laval-Montmorency, who was called in his youth the Abbé de Montigny, was, on the recommendation of the Jesuits, appointed apostolic vicar by Pope Alexander VII, who conferred upon him the title of Bishop of Petræa *in partibus.* The Church in Canada was then directly connected with the Holy See, and the sovereign pontiff abandoned to the king of France the right of appointment and presentation of bishops having the authority of apostolic vicars.

The difficulties which arose between Mgr. de Laval and the Abbé de Queylus, Grand Vicar of Rouen for Canada, were regrettable, but, thanks to the truly apostolic zeal and the purity of intention of these two men of God, these difficulties

were not long in giving place to a noble rivalry for good, fostered by a perfect harmony. The Abbé de Queylus had come to take possession of the Island of Montreal for the company of St. Sulpice, and to establish there a seminary on the model of that in Paris. This creation, with that of the hospital established by Mlle. Mance, gave a great impetus to the young city of Montreal. Moreover, religion was so truly the motive of the foundation of the colony by M. Olier and his associates, that the latter had placed the Island of Montreal under the protection of the Holy Virgin. The priests of St. Sulpice, who had become the lords of the island, had already given an earnest of their labours; they too aspired to venerate martyrs chosen from their ranks, and in the same year MM. Lemaître and Vignal perished at the hands of the wild Iroquois.

Meanwhile, under the paternal direction of Mgr. de Laval, and the thoroughly Christian administration of governors like Champlain, de Montmagny, d'Ailleboust, or of leaders like Maisonneuve and Major Closse, Heaven was pleased to spread its blessings upon the rising colony; a number of savages asked and received baptism, and the fervour of the colonists endured. The men were not the only ones to spread the good word; holy maidens worked on their part for the glory of God, whether in the hospitals of Quebec and Montreal, or in the institution of the Ursulines in the heart of the city of Champlain, or, finally, in the modest

school founded at Ville-Marie by Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys. It is true that the blood of the Indians and of their missionaries had been shed in floods, that the Huron missions had been exterminated, and that, moreover, two camps of Algonquins had been destroyed and swept away; but nations as well as individuals may promise themselves the greater progress in the spiritual life according as they commence it with a more abundant and a richer record; and the greatest treasure of a nation is the blood of the martyrs who have founded it. Moreover, the fugitive Hurons went to convert their enemies, and even from the funeral pyres of the priests was to spring the spark of faith for all these peoples. Two hamlets were founded for the converted Iroquois, those of the Sault St. Louis (Caughnawaga) and of La Montagne at Montreal, and fervent neophytes gathered there.

Certain historians have regretted that the first savages encountered by the French in North America should have been Hurons; an alliance made with the Iroquois, they say, would have been a hundred times more profitable for civilization and for France. What do we know about it? Man imagines and arranges his plans, but above these arrangements hovers Providence—fools say, chance—whose foreseeing hand sets all in order for the accomplishment of His impenetrable design. Yet, however firmly convinced the historian may be that the eye of Providence never sleeps, that the

Divine Hand is never still, he must be sober in his observations; he must yield neither to his fancy nor to his imagination; but neither must he banish God from history, for then everything in it would become incomprehensible and inexplicable, absurd and barren. It was this same God who guides events at His will that inspired and sustained the devoted missionaries in their efforts against the revenue-farmers in the matter of the sale of intoxicating liquors to the savages. The struggle which they maintained, supported by the venerable Bishop of Petræa, is wholly to their honour; it was a question of saving even against their will the unfortunate children of the woods who were addicted to the fatal passion of intoxication. Unhappily, the Governors d'Avaugour and de Mézy, in supporting the greed of the traders, were perhaps right from the political point of view, but certainly wrong from a philanthropic and Christian standpoint.

The colony continuing to prosper, and the growing need of a national clergy becoming more and more felt, Mgr. de Laval founded in 1663 a seminary at Quebec. The king decided that the tithes raised from the colonists should be collected by the seminary, which was to provide for the maintenance of the priests and for divine service in the established parishes. The Sovereign Council fixed the tithe at a twenty-sixth.

The missionaries continued, none the less, to

spread the light of the gospel and Christian civilization. It seems that the field of their labour had never been too vast for their desire. Ever onward! was their motto. While Fathers Garreau and Mesnard found death among the Algonquins on the coasts of Lake Superior, the Sulpicians Dollier and Gallinée were planting the cross on the shores of Lake Erie; Father Claude Allouez was preaching the gospel beyond Lake Superior; Fathers Dablon, Marquette, and Druillètes were establishing the mission of Sault Ste. Marie; Father Albanel was proceeding to explore Hudson Bay; Father Marquette, acting with Jolliet, was following the course of the Mississippi as far as Arkansas; finally, later on, Father Arnaud accompanied La Vérendrye as far as the Rocky Mountains.

The establishment of the Catholic religion in Canada had now witnessed its darkest days; its history becomes intimately interwoven with that of the country. Up to the English conquest, the clergy and the different religious congregations, as faithful to France as to the Holy See, encouraged the Canadians in their struggles against the invaders. Accordingly, at the time of the invasion of the colony by Phipps, the Americans of Boston declared that they would spare neither monks nor missionaries if they succeeded in seizing Quebec; they bore a particular grudge against the priests of the seminary, to whom they ascribed the ravages committed shortly before in New England by the

Abenaquis. They were punished for their boasting; forty seminarists assembled at St. Joachim, the country house of the seminary, joined the volunteers who fought at Beauport, and contributed so much to the victory that Frontenac, to recompense their bravery, presented them with a cannon captured by themselves.

The Church of Rome had been able to continue in peace its mission in Canada from the departure of Mgr. de Laval, in 1684, to the conquest of the country by the English. The worthy Bishop of Petræa, created Bishop of Quebec in 1674, was succeeded by Mgr. de St. Vallier, then by Mgr. de Mornay, who did not come to Canada, by Mgr. de Dosquet, Mgr. Pourroy de l'Aube-Rivière, and Mgr. de Pontbriant, who died the very year in which General de Lévis made of his flags on St. Helen's Island a sacred pyre.

In 1760 the Protestant religion was about to penetrate into Canada in the train of the victorious armies of Great Britain, having been proscribed in the colony from the time of Champlain. With conquerors of a different religion, the rôle of the Catholic clergy became much more arduous and delicate; this will be readily admitted when we recall that Mgr. Briand was informally apprised at the time of his appointment that the government of England would appear to be ignorant of his consecration and induction by the Bishop of Rome. But the clergy managed to keep itself on a

level with its task. A systematic opposition on its part to the new masters of the country could only have drawn upon the whole population a bitter oppression, and we would not behold to-day the prosperity of these nine ecclesiastical provinces of Canada, with their twenty-four dioceses, these numerous parishes which vie with each other in the advancement of souls, these innumerable religious houses which everywhere are spreading education or charity. The Act of Quebec in 1774 delivered our fathers from the unjust fetters fastened on their freedom by the oath required under the Supremacy Act; but it is to the prudence of Mgr. Plessis in particular that Catholics owe the religious liberty which they now enjoy.

To-day, when passions are calmed, when we possess a full and complete liberty of conscience, to-day when the different religious denominations live side by side in mutual respect and tolerance of each other's convictions, let us give thanks to the spiritual guides who by their wisdom and moderation, but also by their energetic resistance when it was necessary, knew how to preserve for us our language and our religion. Let us always respect the worthy prelates who, like those who direct us to-day, edify us by their tact, their knowledge and their virtues.

## CHAPTER II

### THE EARLY YEARS OF FRANÇOIS DE LAVAL

CERTAIN great men pass through the world like meteors; their brilliance, lightning-like at their first appearance, continues to cast a dazzling gleam across the centuries: such were Alexander the Great, Mozart, Shakespeare and Napoleon. Others, on the contrary, do not instantly command the admiration of the masses; it is necessary, in order that their transcendent merit should appear, either that the veil which covered their actions should be gradually lifted, or that, some fine day, and often after their death, the results of their work should shine forth suddenly to the eyes of men and prove their genius: such were Socrates, Themistocles, Jacquard, Copernicus, and Christopher Columbus.

The illustrious ecclesiastic who has given his name to our French-Canadian university, respected as he was by his contemporaries, has been esteemed at his proper value only by posterity. The reason is easy to understand: a colony still in its infancy is subject to many fluctuations before all the wheels of government move smoothly, and Mgr. de Laval, obliged to face ever renewed conflicts of authority, had necessarily either to abandon what

he considered it his duty to support, or create malcontents. If sometimes he carried persistence to the verge of obstinacy, he must be judged in relation to the period in which he lived: governors like Frontenac were only too anxious to imitate their absolute master, whose guiding maxim was, "I am the state!" Moreover, where are the men of true worth who have not found upon their path the poisoned fruits of hatred? The so-called praise that is sometimes applied to a man, when we say of him, "he has not a single enemy," seems to us, on the contrary, a certificate of insignificance and obscurity. The figure of this great servant of God is one of those which shed the most glory on the history of Canada; the age of Louis XIV, so marvellous in the number of great men which it gave to France, lavished them also upon her daughter of the new continent—Brébeuf and Lalemant, de Maisonneuve, Dollard, Laval, Talon, de la Salle, Frontenac, d'Iberville, de Maricourt, de Sainte-Hélène, and many others.

"Noble as a Montmorency" says a well-known adage. The founder of that illustrious line, Bouchard, Lord of Montmorency, figures as early as 950 A.D. among the great vassals of the kingdom of France. The heads of this house bore formerly the titles of First Christian Barons and of First Barons of France; it became allied to several royal houses, and gave to the elder daughter of the Church several cardinals, six constables, twelve marshals,

four admirals, and a great number of distinguished generals and statesmen. Sprung from this family, whose origin is lost in the night of time, François de Laval-Montmorency was born at Montigny-sur-Avre, in the department of Eure-et-Loir, on April 30th, 1623. This charming village, which still exists, was part of the important diocese of Chartres. Through his father, Hugues de Laval, Seigneur of Montigny, Montbeaudry, Alaincourt and Revercourt, the future Bishop of Quebec traced his descent from Count Guy de Laval, younger son of the constable Mathieu de Montmorency, and through his mother, Michelle de Péricard, he belonged to a family of hereditary officers of the Crown, which was well-known in Normandy, and gave to the Church a goodly number of prelates.

Like St. Louis, one of the protectors of his ancestors, the young François was indebted to his mother for lessons and examples of piety and of charity which he never forgot. Virtue, moreover, was as natural to the Lavals as bravery on the field of battle, and whether it were in the retinue of Clovis, when the First Barons received the regenerating water of baptism, or on the immortal plain of Bouvines; whether it were by the side of Blanche of Castile, attacked by the rebellious nobles, or in the terrible holocaust of Crécy; whether it were in the *fight of the giants* at Marignan, or after Pavia during the captivity of the *roi-gentilhomme;* everywhere where country and

religion appealed to their defenders one was sure of hearing shouted in the foremost ranks the motto of the Montmorencys: "*Dieu ayde au premier baron chrétien!*"

Young Laval received at the baptismal font the name of the heroic missionary to the Indies, François-Xavier. To this saint and to the founder of the Franciscans, François d'Assise, he devoted throughout his life an ardent worship. Of his youth we hardly know anything except the misfortunes which happened to his family. He was only fourteen years old when, in 1636, he suffered the loss of his father, and one of his near kinsmen, Henri de Montmorency, grand marshal of France, and governor of Languedoc, beheaded by the order of Richelieu. The bravery displayed by this valiant warrior in battle unfortunately did not redeem the fault which he had committed in rebelling against the established power, against his lawful master, Louis XIII, and in neglecting thus the traditions handed down to him by his family through more than seven centuries of glory.

Some historians reproach Richelieu with cruelty, but in that troublous age when, hardly free from the wars of religion, men rushed carelessly on into the rebellions of the duc d'Orléans and the duc de Soissons, into the conspiracies of Chalais, of Cinq-Mars and de Thou, soon followed by the war of La Fronde, it was not by an indulgence synonymous with weakness that it was possible to strength-

en the royal power. Who knows if it was not this energy of the great cardinal which inspired the young François, at an age when sentiment is so deeply impressed upon the soul, with those ideas of firmness which distinguished him later on?

The future Bishop of Quebec was then a scholar in the college of La Flèche, directed by the Jesuits, for his pious parents held nothing dearer than the education of their children in the fear of God and love of the good. They had had six children; the two first had perished in the flower of their youth on fields of battle; François, who was now the eldest, inherited the name and patrimony of Montigny, which he gave up later on to his brother Jean-Louis, which explains why he was called for some time Abbé de Montigny, and resumed later the generic name of the family of Laval; the fifth son, Henri de Laval, joined the Benedictine monks and became prior of La Croix-Saint-Leufroy. Finally the only sister of Mgr. Laval, Anne Charlotte, became Mother Superior of the religious community of the Daughters of the Holy Sacrament.

François edified the comrades of his early youth by his ardent piety, and his tender respect for the house of God; his masters, too, clever as they were in the art of guiding young men and of distinguishing those who were to shine later on, were not slow in recognizing his splendid qualities, the clear-sightedness and breadth of his intelligence, and his wonder-

ful memory. As a reward for his good conduct he was admitted to the privileged ranks of those who comprised the Congregation of the Holy Virgin. We know what good these admirable societies, founded by the sons of Loyola, have accomplished and still accomplish daily in Catholic schools the world over. Societies which vie with each other in piety and encouragement of virtue, they inspire young people with the love of prayer, the habits of regularity and of holy practices.

The congregation of the college of La Flèche had then the good fortune of being directed by Father Bagot, one of those superior priests always so numerous in the Company of Jesus. At one time confessor to King Louis XIII, Father Bagot was a profound philosopher and an eminent theologian. It was under his clever direction that the mind of François de Laval was formed, and we shall witness later the germination of the seed which the learned Jesuit sowed in the soul of his beloved scholar.

At this period great families devoted to God from early youth the younger members who showed inclination for the religious life. François was only nine years old when he received the tonsure, and fifteen when he was appointed canon of the cathedral of Evreux. Without the revenues which he drew from his prebend, he would not have been able to continue his literary studies ; the death of his father, in fact, had left his family in a rather

precarious condition of fortune. He was to remain to the end of his career the pupil of his preferred masters, for it was under them that, having at the age of nineteen left the institution where he had brilliantly completed his classical education, he studied philosophy and theology at the Collège de Clermont at Paris.

He was plunged in these noble studies, when two terrible blows fell upon him ; he learned of the successive deaths of his two eldest brothers, who had fallen gloriously, one at Freiburg, the other at Nördlingen. He became thus the head of the family, and as if the temptations which this title offered him were not sufficient, bringing him as it did, together with a great name a brilliant future, his mother came, supported by the Bishop of Evreux, his cousin, to beg him to abandon the ecclesiastical career and to marry, in order to maintain the honour of his house. Many others would have succumbed, but what were temporal advantages to a man who had long aspired to the glory of going to preach the Divine Word in far-off missions ? He remained inflexible ; all that his mother could obtain from him was his consent to devote to her for some time his clear judgment and intellect in setting in order the affairs of his family. A few months sufficed for success in this task. In order to place an impassable abyss between himself and the world, he made a full and complete renunciation in favour of his brother Jean-Louis of

his rights of primogeniture and all his titles to the seigniory of Montigny and Montbeaudry. The world is ever prone to admire a chivalrous action, and to look askance at deeds which appear to savour of fanaticism. To Laval this renunciation of wordly wealth and honour appeared in the simple light of duty. His Master's words were inspiration enough: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business?"

Returning to the Collège de Clermont, he now thought of nothing but of preparing to receive worthily the holy orders. It was on September 23rd, 1647, at Paris, that he saw dawn for him the beautiful day of the first mass, whose memory perfumes the whole life of the priest. We may guess with what fervour he must have ascended the steps of the holy altar; if up to that moment he had merely loved his God, he must on that day have dedicated to Jesus all the powers of his being, all the tenderness of his soul, and his every heart-beat.

Mgr. de Péricard, Bishop of Evreux, was not present at the ordination of his cousin; death had taken him away, but before expiring, besides expressing his regret to the new priest for having tried at the time, thinking to further the aims of God, to dissuade him from the ecclesiastical life, he gave him a last proof of his affection by appointing him archdeacon of his cathedral. The duties of the archdeaconry of Evreux, comprising, as it did, nearly one hundred and sixty parishes, were par-

ticularly heavy, yet the young priest fulfilled them for seven years, and M. de la Colombière explains to us how he acquitted himself of them: "The regularity of his visits, the fervour of his enthusiasm, the improvement and the good order which he established in the parishes, the relief of the poor, his interest in all sorts of charity, none of which escaped his notice: all this showed well that without being a bishop he had the ability and merit of one, and that there was no service which the Church might not expect from so great a subject."

But our future Bishop of New France aspired to more glorious fields. One of those zealous apostles who were evangelizing India at this period, Father Alexander of Rhodes, asked from the sovereign pontiff the appointment for Asia of three French bishops, and submitted to the Holy See the names of MM. Pallu, Picquet and Laval. There was no question of hesitation. All three set out immediately for Rome. They remained there fifteen months; the opposition of the Portuguese court caused the failure of this plan, and François de Laval returned to France. He had resigned the office of archdeacon the year before, 1653, in favour of a man of tried virtue, who had been, nevertheless, a prey to calumny and persecution, the Abbé Henri-Marie Boudon; thus freed from all responsibility, Laval could satisfy his desire of preparing himself by prayer for the designs which God might have for him.

In his desire of attaining the greatest possible perfection, he betook himself to Caen, to the religious retreat of M. de Bernières. St. Vincent de Paul, who had trained M. Olier, was desirous also that his pupil, before going to find a field for his apostolic zeal among the people of Auvergne, should prepare himself by earnest meditation in retirement at St. Lazare. "Silence and introspection seemed to St. Vincent," says M. de Lanjuère, the author of the life of M. Olier, "the first conditions of success, preceding any serious enterprise. He had not learned this from Pythagoras or the Greek philosophers, who were, indeed, so careful to prescribe for their disciples a long period of meditation before initiation into their systems, nor even from the experience of all superior men, who, in order to ripen a great plan or to evolve a great thought, have always felt the need of isolation in the nobler acceptance of the word; but he had this maxim from the very example of the Saviour, who, before the temptation and before the transfiguration, withdrew from the world in order to contemplate, and who prayed in Gethsemane before His death on the cross, and who often led His disciples into solitude to rest, and to listen to His most precious communications."

In this little town of Caen, in a house called the Hermitage, lived Jean de Bernières of Louvigny, together with some of his friends. They had gathered together for the purpose of aiding each other

in mutual sanctification; they practised prayer, and lived in the exercise of the highest piety and charity. François de Laval passed three years in this Hermitage, and his wisdom was already so highly appreciated, that during the period of his stay he was entrusted with two important missions, whose successful issue attracted attention to him and led naturally to his appointment to the bishopric of Canada.

As early as 1647 the king foresaw the coming creation of a bishopric in New France, for he constituted the Upper Council "of the Governor of Quebec, the Governor of Montreal and the Superior of the Jesuits, *until there should be a bishop.*" A few years later, in 1656, the Company of Montreal obtained from M. Olier, the pious founder of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, the services of four of his priests for the colony, under the direction of one of them, M. de Queylus, Abbé de Loc-Dieu, whose brilliant qualities, as well as the noble use which he made of his great fortune, marked him out naturally as the probable choice of his associates for the episcopacy. But the Jesuits, in possession of all the missions of New France, had their word to say, especially since the mitre had been offered by the queen regent, Anne of Austria, to one of their number, Father Lejeune, who had not, however, been able to accept, their rules forbidding it. They had then proposed to the court of France and the court of Rome the name of François de Laval;

but believing that the colony was not ready for the erection of a see, they expressed the opinion that the sending of an apostolic vicar with the functions and powers of a bishop *in partibus* would suffice. Moreover, if the person sent should not succeed, he could at any time be recalled, which could not be done in the case of a bishop. Alexander VII had given his consent to this new plan, and Mgr. de Laval was consecrated by the nuncio of the Pope at Paris, on Sunday, December 8th, 1658, in the church of St. Germain-des-Prés. After having taken, with the assent of the sovereign pontiff, the oath of fidelity to the king, the new Bishop of Petræa said farewell to his pious mother (who died in that same year) and embarked at La Rochelle in the month of April, 1659. The only property he retained was an income of a thousand francs assured to him by the Queen-Mother; but he was setting out to conquer treasures very different from those coveted by the Spanish adventurers who sailed to Mexico and Peru. He arrived on June 16th at Quebec, with letters from the king which enjoined upon all the recognition of Mgr. de Laval of Petræa as being authorized to exercise episcopal functions in the colony without prejudice to the rights of the Archbishop of Rouen.

Unfortunately, men's minds were not very certain then as to the title and qualities of an apostolic vicar. They asked themselves if he were not a simple delegate whose authority did not conflict

with the jurisdiction of the two grand vicars of the Jesuits and the Sulpicians. The communities, at first divided on this point, submitted on the receipt of new letters from the king, which commanded the recognition of the sole authority of the Bishop of Petræa. The two grand vicars obeyed, and M. de Queylus came to Quebec, where he preached the sermon on St. Augustine's Day (August 28th), and satisfied the claim to authority of the apostolic vicar.

But a new complication arose: the *St. André*, which had arrived on September 7th, brought to the Abbé de Queylus a new appointment as grand vicar from the Archbishop of Rouen, which contained his protests at court against the apostolic vicar, and letters from the king which seemed to confirm them. Doubt as to the authenticity of the powers of Mgr. de Laval might thus, at least, seem permissible; no act of the Abbé de Queylus, however, indicates that it was openly manifested, and the very next month the abbé returned to France.

We may understand, however, that Mgr. de Laval, in the midst of such difficulties, felt the need of early asserting his authority. He promulgated an order enjoining upon all the secular ecclesiastics of the country the disavowal of all foreign jurisdictions and the recognition of his alone, and commanded them to sign this regulation in evidence of their submission. All signed it, in-

cluding the devoted priests of St. Sulpice at Montreal.

Two years later, nevertheless, the Abbé de Queylus returned with bulls from the Congregation of the Daterie at Rome. These bulls placed him in possession of the parish of Montreal. In spite of the formal forbiddance of the Bishop of Petræa, he undertook, strong in what he judged to be his rights, to betake himself to Montreal. The prelate on his side believed that it was his duty to take severe steps, and he suspended the Abbé de Queylus. On instructions which were given him by the king, Governor d'Avaugour transmitted to the Abbé de Queylus an order to return to France. The court of Rome finally settled the question by giving the entire jurisdiction of Canada to Mgr. de Laval. The affair thus ended, the Abbé de Queylus returned to the colony in 1668. The population of Ville-Marie received with deep joy this benefactor, to whose generosity it owed so much, and on his side the worthy Bishop of Petræa proved that if he had believed it his duty to defend his own authority when menaced, he had too noble a heart to preserve a petty rancour. He appointed the worthy Abbé de Queylus his grand vicar at Montreal.

When for the first time Mgr. de Laval set foot on the soil of America, the people, assembled to pay respect to their first pastor, were struck by his address, which was both affable and majestic, by his manners, as easy as they were distinguished,

but especially by that charm which emanates from every one whose heart has remained ever pure. A lofty brow indicated an intellect above the ordinary; the clean-cut long nose was the inheritance of the Montmorencys; his eye was keen and bright; his eyebrows strongly arched; his thin lips and prominent chin showed a tenacious will; his hair was scanty; finally, according to the custom of that period, a moustache and chin beard added to the strength and energy of his features. From the moment of his arrival the prelate produced the best impression. "I cannot," said Governor d'Argenson, "I cannot highly enough esteem the zeal and piety of Mgr. of Petræa. He is a true man of prayer, and I make no doubt that his labours will bear goodly fruits in this country." Boucher, governor of Three Rivers, wrote thus: "We have a bishop whose zeal and virtue are beyond anything that I can say."

## CHAPTER III

### THE SOVEREIGN COUNCIL

THE pious bishop who is the subject of this study was not long in proving that his virtues were not too highly esteemed. An ancient vessel, the *St. André*, brought from France two hundred and six persons, among whom were Mlle. Mance, the foundress of the Montreal hospital, Sister Bourgeoys, and two Sulpicians, MM. Vignal and Lemaître. Now this ship had long served as a sailors' hospital, and it had been sent back to sea without the necessary quarantine. Hardly had its passengers lost sight of the coasts of France when the plague broke out among them, and with such intensity that all were more or less attacked by it; Mlle. Mance, in particular, was almost immediately reduced to the point of death. Always very delicate, and exhausted by a preceding voyage, she did not seem destined to resist this latest attack. Moreover, all aid was lacking, even the rations of fresh water ran short, and from a fear of contagion, which will be readily understood, but which was none the less disastrous, the captain at first forbade the Sisters of Charity who were on board to minister to the sick. This precaution cost seven or eight of these unfortunate people their lives. At least M. Vignal

and M. Lemaître, though both suffering themselves, were able to offer to the dying the consolations of their holy office. M. Lemaître, more vigorous than his colleague, and possessed of an admirable energy and devotion, was not satisfied merely with encouraging and ministering to the unfortunate in their last moments, but even watched over their remains at the risk of his own life; he buried them piously, wound them in their shrouds, and said over them the final prayers as they were lowered into the sea. Two Huguenots, touched by his devotion, died in the Roman Catholic faith. The Sisters were finally permitted to exercise their charitable office. Although ill, they as well as Sister Bourgeoys, displayed a heroic energy, and raised the morale of all the unfortunate passengers.

To this sickness were added other sufferings incident to such a voyage, and frightful storms did not cease to attack the ship until its entry into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Several times they believed themselves on the point of foundering, and the two priests gave absolution to all. The tempest carried these unhappy people so far from their route that they did not arrive at Quebec until September 7th, exhausted by disease, famine and trials of all sorts. Father Dequen, of the Society of Jesus, showed in this matter an example of the most admirable charity. He brought to the sick refreshments and every manner of aid,

and lavished upon all the offices of his holy ministry. As a result of his self-devotion, he was attacked by the scourge and died in the exercise of charity. Several more, after being conveyed to the hospital, succumbed to the disease, and the whole country was infected. Mgr. of Petræa was admirable in his devotion; he hardly left the hospital at all, and constituted himself the nurse of all these unfortunates, making their beds and giving them the most attentive care. "He is continually at the hospital," wrote Mother Mary of the Incarnation, "in order to help the sick and to make their beds. We do what we can to prevent him and to shield his health, but no eloquence can dissuade him from these acts of self-abasement."

In the spring of the year 1662, Mgr. de Laval rented for his own use an old house situated on the site of the present parochial residence at Quebec, and it was there that, with the three other priests who then composed his episcopal court, he edified all the colonists by the simplicity of a cenobitic life. He had been at first the guest of the Jesuit Fathers, was later sheltered by the Sisters of the Hôtel-Dieu, and subsequently lodged with the Ursulines. At this period it was indeed incumbent upon him to adapt himself to circumstances; nor did these modest conditions displease the former pupil of M. de Bernières, since, as Latour bears witness, "he always complained that people did too much for him; he showed a distaste for all that was

too daintily prepared, and affected, on the contrary, a sort of avidity for coarser fare." Mother Mary of the Incarnation wrote: "He lives like a holy man and an apostle; his life is so exemplary that he commands the admiration of the country. He gives everything away and lives like a pauper, and one may well say that he has the very spirit of poverty. He practises this poverty in his house, in his manner of living, and in the matter of furniture and servants; for he has but one gardener, whom he lends to poor people when they have need of him, and a valet who formerly served M. de Bernières."

But if the reverend prelate was modest and simple in his personal tastes, he became inflexible when he thought it his duty to maintain the rights of the Church. And he watched over these rights with the more circumspection since he was the first bishop installed in the colony, and was unwilling to allow abuses to be planted there, which later it would be very difficult, not to say impossible, to uproot. Hence the continual friction between him and the governor-general, d'Argenson, on questions of precedence and etiquette. Some of these disputes would seem to us childish to-day if even such a writer as Parkman did not put us on our guard against a premature judgment.[1] "The disputes in question," writes Parkman, "though of a nature to provoke a smile on irreverent lips, were by no means so puerile as they appear. It is difficult in a modern

[1] *The Old Régime in Canada*, p. 110.

democratic society to conceive the substantial importance of the signs and symbols of dignity and authority, at a time and among a people where they were adjusted with the most scrupulous precision, and accepted by all classes as exponents of relative degrees in the social and political scale. Whether the bishop or the governor should sit in the higher seat at table thus became a political question, for it defined to the popular understanding the position of Church and State in their relations to government."

In his zeal for making his episcopal authority respected, could not the prelate, however, have made some concessions to the temporal power? It is allowable to think so, when his panegyrist, the Abbé Gosselin, acknowledges it in these terms: "Did he sometimes show too much ardour in the settlement of a question or in the assertion of his rights? It is possible. As the Abbé Ferland rightly observes, 'no virtue is perfect upon earth.' But he was too pious and too disinterested for us to suspect for a moment the purity of his intentions." In certain passages in his journal Father Lalemant seems to be of the same opinion. All men are fallible; even the greatest saints have erred. In this connection the remark of St. Bernardin of Siena presents itself naturally to the religious mind: "Each time," says he, "that God grants to a creature a marked and particular favour, and when divine grace summons him to a special task and to

some sublime position, it is a rule of Providence to furnish that creature with all the means necessary to fulfil the mission which is entrusted to him, and to bring it to a happy conclusion. Providence prepares his birth, directs his education, produces the environment in which he is to live; even his faults Providence will use in the accomplishment of its purposes."

Difficulties of another sort fixed between the spiritual and the temporal chiefs of the colony a still deeper gulf; they arose from the trade in brandy with the savages. It had been formerly forbidden by the Sovereign Council, and this measure, urged by the clergy and the missionaries, put a stop to crimes and disorders. However, for the purpose of gain, certain men infringed this wise prohibition, and Mgr. de Laval, aware of the extensive harm caused by the fatal passion of the Indians for intoxicating liquors, hurled excommunication against all who should carry on the traffic in brandy with the savages. "It would be very difficult," writes M. de Latour, "to realize to what an excess these barbarians are carried by drunkenness. There is no species of madness, of crime or inhumanity to which they do not descend. The savage, for a glass of brandy, will give even his clothes, his cabin, his wife, his children; a squaw when made drunk—and this is often done purposely—will abandon herself to the first comer. They will tear each other to pieces. If one enters a cabin whose inmates have

just drunk brandy, one will behold with astonishment and horror the father cutting the throat of his son, the son threatening his father; the husband and wife, the best of friends, inflicting murderous blows upon each other, biting each other, tearing out each other's eyes, noses and ears; they are no longer recognizable, they are madmen; there is perhaps in the world no more vivid picture of hell. There are often some among them who seek drunkenness in order to avenge themselves upon their enemies, and commit with impunity all sorts of crimes under the pretext of this fine excuse, which passes with them for a complete justification, that at these times they are not free and not in their senses." Drunken savages are brutes, it is true, but were not the whites who fostered this fatal passion of intoxication more guilty still than the wretches whom they ignominiously urged on to vice? Let us see what the same writer says of these corrupters. "If it is difficult," says he, "to explain the excesses of the savage, it is also difficult to understand the extent of the greed, the hypocrisy and the rascality of those who supply them with these drinks. The facility for making immense profits which is afforded them by the ignorance and the passions of these people, and the certainty of impunity, are things which they cannot resist; the attraction of gain acts upon them as drunkenness does upon their victims. How many crimes arise from the same source? There is no mother who

does not fear for her daughter, no husband who does not dread for his wife, a libertine armed with a bottle of brandy; they rob and pillage these wretches, who, stupefied by intoxication when they are not maddened by it, can neither refuse nor defend themselves. There is no barrier which is not forced, no weakness which is not exploited, in these remote regions where, without either witnesses or masters, only the voice of brutal passion is listened to, every crime of which is inspired by a glass of brandy. The French are worse in this respect than the savages."

Governor d'Avaugour supported energetically the measures taken by Mgr. de Laval; unfortunately a regrettable incident destroyed the harmony between their two authorities. Inspired by his good heart, the superior of the Jesuits, Father Lalemant, interceded with the governor in favour of a woman imprisoned for having infringed the prohibition of the sale of brandy to the Indians. "If she is not to be punished," brusquely replied d'Avaugour, "no one shall be punished henceforth!" And, as he made it a point of honour not to withdraw this unfortunate utterance, the traders profited by it. From that time license was no longer bridled; the savages got drunk, the traders were enriched, and the colony was in jeopardy. Sure of being supported by the governor, the merchants listened to neither bishop nor missionaries. Grieved at seeing his prayers as powerless as his commands, Mgr. de

Laval decided to carry his complaint to the foot of the throne, and he set sail for France in the autumn of 1662. "Statesmen who place the freedom of commerce above morality of action," says Jacques de Beaudoncourt, "still consider that the bishop was wrong, and see in this matter a fine opportunity to inveigh against the encroachments of the clergy; but whoever has at heart the cause of human dignity will not hesitate to take the side of the missionaries who sought to preserve the savages from the vices which have brought about their ruin and their disappearance. The Montagnais race, which is still the most important in Canada, has been preserved by Catholicism from the vices and the misery which brought about so rapidly the extirpation of the savages."

Mgr. de Laval succeeded beyond his hopes; cordially received by King Louis XIV, he obtained the recall of Governor d'Avaugour. But this purpose was not the only one which he had made the goal of his ambition; he had in view another, much more important for the welfare of the colony. Fourteen years before, the Iroquois had exterminated the Hurons, and since this period the colonists had not enjoyed a single hour of calm; the devotion of Dollard and of his sixteen heroic comrades had narrowly saved them from a horrible danger. The worthy prelate obtained from the king a sufficiently large assignment of troops to deliver the colony at last from its most dangerous enemies.

"We expect next year," he wrote to the sovereign pontiff, "twelve hundred soldiers, with whom, by God's help, we shall try to overcome the fierce Iroquois. The Marquis de Tracy will come to Canada in order to see for himself the measures which are necessary to make of New France a strong and prosperous colony."

M. Dubois d'Avaugour was recalled, and yet he rendered before his departure a distinguished service to the colony. "The St. Lawrence," he wrote in a memorial to the monarch, "is the key to a country which may become the greatest state in the world. There should be sent to this colony three thousand soldiers, to be discharged after three years of service; they could make Quebec an impregnable fortress, subdue the Iroquois, build redoubtable forts on the banks of the Hudson, where the Dutch have only a wretched wooden hut, and in short, open for New France a road to the sea by this river." It was mainly this report which induced the sovereign to take back Canada from the hands of the Company of the Cent-Associés, who were incapable of colonizing it, and to reintegrate it in the royal domain.

Must we think with M. de la Colombière,[1] with M. de Latour and with Cardinal Taschereau, that the Sovereign Council was the work of Mgr. de Laval? We have some justification in believing it

[1] Joseph Séré de la Colombière, vicar-general and arch-deacon of Quebec, pronounced Mgr. de Laval's funeral oration.

when we remember that the king arrived at this important decision while the energetic Laval was present at his court. However it may be, on April 24th, 1663, the Company of New France abandoned the colony to the royal government, which immediately created in Canada three courts of justice and above them the Sovereign Council as a court of appeal.

The Bishop of Petræa sailed in 1663 for North America with the new governor, M. de Mézy, who owed to him his appointment. His other fellow-passengers were M. Gaudais-Dupont, who came to take possession of the country in the name of the king, two priests, MM. Maizerets and Hugues Pommier, Father Rafeix, of the Society of Jesus, and three ecclesiastics. The passage was stormy and lasted four months. To-day, when we leave Havre and disembark a week later at New York, after having enjoyed all the refinements of luxury and comfort invented by an advanced but materialistic civilization, we can with difficulty imagine the discomforts, hardships and privations of four long months on a stormy sea. Scurvy, that fatal consequence of famine and exhaustion, soon broke out among the passengers, and many died of it. The bishop, himself stricken by the disease, did not cease, nevertheless, to lavish his care upon the unfortunates who were attacked by the infection; he even attended them at the hospital after they had landed.

The country was still at this time under the stress of the emotion caused by the terrible earthquake of 1663. Father Lalemant has left us a striking description of this cataclysm, marked by the naïve exaggeration of the period: "It was February 5th, 1663, about half-past five in the evening, when a great roar was heard at the same time throughout the extent of Canada. This noise, which gave the impression that fire had broken out in all the houses, made every one rush out of doors in order to flee from such a sudden conflagration. But instead of seeing smoke and flame, the people were much surprised to behold walls tottering, and all the stones moving as if they had become detached; the roofs seemed to bend downward on one side, then to lean over on the other; the bells rang of their own accord; joists, rafters and boards cracked, the earth quivered and made the stakes of the palisades dance in a manner which would appear incredible if we had not seen it in various places.

"Then every one rushes outside, animals take to flight, children cry through the streets, men and women, seized with terror, know not where to take refuge, thinking at every moment that they must be either overwhelmed in the ruins of the houses or buried in some abyss about to open under their feet; some, falling to their knees in the snow, cry for mercy; others pass the rest of the night in prayer, because the earthquake still continues with

a certain undulation, almost like that of ships at sea, and such that some feel from these shocks the same sickness that they endure upon the water.

"The disorder was much greater in the forest. It seemed that there was a battle between the trees, which were hurled together, and not only their branches but even their trunks seemed to leave their places to leap upon each other with a noise and a confusion which made our savages say that the whole forest was drunk.

"There seemed to be the same combat between the mountains, of which some were uprooted and hurled upon the others, leaving great chasms in the places whence they came, and now burying the trees, with which they were covered, deep in the earth up to their tops, now thrusting them in, with branches downward, taking the place of the roots, so that they left only a forest of upturned trunks.

"While this general destruction was going on on land, sheets of ice five or six feet thick were broken and shattered to pieces, and split in many places, whence arose thick vapour or streams of mud and sand which ascended high into the air; our springs either flowed no longer or ran with sulphurous waters; the rivers were either lost from sight or became polluted, the waters of some becoming yellow, those of others red, and the great St. Lawrence appeared quite livid up to the vicinity of Tadousac, a most astonishing prodigy, and one capable of surprising those who know the extent of

this great river below the Island of Orleans, and what matter must be necessary to whiten it.

"We behold new lakes where there never were any; certain mountains engulfed are no longer seen; several rapids have been smoothed out; not a few rivers no longer appear; the earth is cleft in many places, and has opened abysses which seem to have no bottom. In short, there has been produced such a confusion of woods upturned and buried, that we see now stretches of country of more than a thousand acres wholly denuded, and as if they were freshly ploughed, where a little before there had been but forests.

"Moreover, three circumstances made this earthquake most remarkable. The first is the time of its duration, since it lasted into the month of August, that is to say, more than six months. It is true that the shocks were not always so rude; in certain places, for example, towards the mountains at the back of us, the noise and the commotion were long continued; at others, as in the direction of Tadousac, there was a quaking as a rule two or three times a day, accompanied by a great straining, and we noticed that in the higher places the disturbance was less than in the flat districts.

"The second circumstance concerns the extent of this earthquake, which we believe to have been universal throughout New France; for we learn that it was felt from Ile Percé and Gaspé, which are at the mouth of our river, to beyond Montreal,

as likewise in New England, in Acadia and other very remote places; so that, knowing that the earthquake occurred throughout an extent of two hundred leagues in length by one hundred in breadth, we have twenty thousand square leagues of land which felt the earthquake on the same day and at the same moment.

"The third circumstance concerns God's particular protection of our homes, for we see near us great abysses and a prodigious extent of country wholly ruined, without our having lost a child or even a hair of our heads. We see ourselves surrounded by confusion and ruins, and yet we have had only a few chimneys demolished, while the mountains around us have been overturned."

From the point of view of conversions and returns to God the results were marvellous. "One can scarcely believe," says Mother Mary of the Incarnation, "the great number of conversions that God has brought about, both among infidels who have embraced the faith, and on the part of Christians who have abandoned their evil life. At the same time as God has shaken the mountains and the marble rocks of these regions, it would seem that He has taken pleasure in shaking consciences. Days of carnival have been changed into days of penitence and sadness; public prayers, processions and pilgrimages have been continual; fasts on bread and water very frequent; the general confessions more sincere than they would have been in the

extremity of sickness. A single ecclesiastic, who directs the parish of Château-Richer, has assured us that he has procured more than eight hundred general confessions, and I leave you to think what the reverend Fathers must have accomplished who were day and night in the confessional. I do not think that in the whole country there is a single inhabitant who has not made a general confession. There have been inveterate sinners, who, to set their consciences at rest, have repeated their confession more than three times. We have seen admirable reconciliations, enemies falling on their knees before each other to ask each other's forgiveness, in so much sorrow that it was easy to see that these changes were the results of grace and of the mercy of God rather than of His justice."

## CHAPTER IV

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEMINARY

NO sooner had he returned, than the Bishop of Petræa devoted all the strength of his intellect to the execution of a plan which he had long meditated, namely, the foundation of a seminary. In order to explain what he understood by this word we cannot do better than to quote his own ordinance relating to this matter: "There shall be educated and trained such young clerics as may appear fit for the service of God, and they shall be taught for this purpose the proper manner of administering the sacraments, the methods of apostolic catechism and preaching, moral theology, the ceremonies of the Church, the Gregorian chant, and other things belonging to the duties of a good ecclesiastic; and besides, in order that there may be formed in the said seminary and among its clergy a chapter composed of ecclesiastics belonging thereto and chosen from among us and the bishops of the said country, our successors, when the king shall have seen fit to found the seminary, or from those whom the said seminary may be able of itself to furnish to this institution through the blessing of God. We desire it to be a perpetual school of virtue, and a place of training whence we may

derive pious and capable recruits, in order to send them on all occasions, and whenever there may be need, into the parishes and other places in the said country, in order to exercise therein priestly and other duties to which they may have been destined, and to withdraw them from the same parishes and duties when it may be judged fitting, reserving to ourselves always, and to the bishops, our successors in the said country, as well as to the said seminary, by our orders and those of the said lords bishops, the power of recalling all the ecclesiastics who may have gone forth as delegates into the parishes and other places, whenever it may be deemed necessary, without their having title or right of particular attachment to a parish, it being our desire, on the contrary, that they should be rightfully removable, and subject to dismissal and displacement at the will of the bishops and of the said seminary, by the orders of the same, in accordance with the sacred practice of the early ages of the Church, which is followed and preserved still at the present day in many dioceses of this kingdom."

Although this foregoing period is somewhat lengthy and a little obscure, so weighty with meaning is it, we have been anxious to quote it, first, because it is an official document, and because it came from the very pen of him whose life we are studying; and, secondly, because it shows that at this period serious reading, such as Cicero, Quintilian, and the Fathers of the Church, formed the

mental pabulum of the people. In our days the beauty of a sentence is less sought after than its clearness and conciseness.

It may be well to add here the Abbé Gosselin's explanation of this *mandement:* "Three principal works are due to this document as the glorious inheritance of the seminary of Quebec. In the first place we have the natural work of any seminary, the training of ecclesiastics and the preparation of the clergy for priestly virtues. In the next place we have the creation of the chapter, which the Bishop of Petræa always considered important in a well organized diocese; it was his desire to find the elements of this chapter in his seminary, when the king should have provided for its endowment, or when the seminary itself could bear the expense. Finally, there is that which in the mind of Mgr. de Laval was the supreme work of the seminary, its vital task: the seminary was to be not only a perpetual school of virtue, but also a place of supply on which he might draw for the persons needed in the administration of his diocese, and to which he might send them back when he should think best. All livings are connected with the seminary, but they are all transferable. The prelate here puts clearly and categorically the question of the transfer of livings. In his measures there is neither hesitation nor circumlocution. He does not seek to deceive the sovereign to whom he is about to submit his regulation. For him, in the present con-

dition of New France, there can be no question of fixed livings; the priests must be by right removable, and subject to recall at the will of the bishop; and, as is fitting in a prelate worthy of the primitive Church, he always lays stress in his commands on the *holy practice of the early centuries.* The question was clearly put. It was as clearly understood by the sovereign, who approved some days later of the regulation of Mgr. de Laval."

It was in the month of April, 1663, that the worthy prelate had obtained the royal approval of the establishment of his seminary; it was on October 10th of the same year that he had it registered by the Sovereign Council.

A great difficulty arose: the missionaries, besides the help that they had obtained from the Company of the Cent-Associés, derived their resources from Europe; but how was the new secular clergy to be supported, totally lacking as it was in endowment and revenue? Mgr. de Laval resolved to employ the means adopted long ago by Charlemagne to assure the maintenance of the Frankish clergy: that of tithes or dues paid by the husbandman from his harvest. Accordingly he obtained from the king an ordinance according to which tithes, fixed at the amount of the thirteenth part of the harvests, should be collected from the colonists by the seminary; the latter was to use them for the maintenance of the priests, and for divine service in the established parishes. The burden was, perhaps,

somewhat heavy. Mgr. de Laval, who, inspired by the spirit of poverty, had renounced his patrimony and lived solely upon a pension of a thousand francs which the queen paid him from her private exchequer, felt that he had a certain right to impose his disinterestedness upon others, but the colonists, sure of the support of the governor, M. de Mézy, complained.

The good understanding between the governor-general and the bishop had been maintained up to the end of January, 1664. Full of respect for the character and the virtue of his friend, M. de Mézy had energetically supported the ordinances of the Sovereign Council against the brandy traffic; he had likewise favoured the registration of the law of tithes, but the opposition which he met in the matter of an increase in his salary impelled him to arbitrary action. Of his own authority he displaced three councillors, and out of petty rancour allowed strong liquors to be sold to the savages. The open struggle between the bishop and himself produced the most unfavourable impression in the colony. The king decided that the matter must be brought to a head. M. de Courcelles was appointed governor, and, jointly with a viceroy, the Marquis de Tracy, and with the Intendant Talon, was entrusted with the investigation of the administration of M. de Mézy. They arrived a few months after the death of de Mézy, whom this untimely end saved perhaps from a well-deserved condemnation. He had

become reconciled in his dying hour to his old and venerable friend, and the judges confined themselves to the erasure of the documents which recalled his administration.

The worthy Bishop of Petræa had not lost for a moment the confidence of the sovereign, as is proved by many letters which he received from the king and his prime minister, Colbert. "I send you by command of His Majesty," writes Colbert, "the sum of six thousand francs, to be disposed of as you may deem best to supply your needs and those of your Church. We cannot ascribe too great a value to a virtue like yours, which is ever equally maintained, which charitably extends its help wherever it is necessary, which makes you indefatigable in the functions of your episcopacy, notwithstanding the feebleness of your health and the frequent indispositions by which you are attacked, and which thus makes you share with the least of your ecclesiastics the task of administering the sacraments in places most remote from the principal settlements. I shall add nothing to this statement, which is entirely sincere, for fear of wounding your natural modesty, etc. . ." The prince himself is no less flattering: "My Lord Bishop of Petræa," writes Louis the Great, "I expected no less of your zeal for the exaltation of the faith, and of your affection for the furtherance of my service than the conduct observed by you in your important and holy mission. Its main reward is reserved by Heaven, which

alone can recompense you in proportion to your merit, but you may rest assured that such rewards as depend on me will not be wanting at the fitting time. I subscribe, moreover, to my Lord Colbert's communications to you in my name."

Peace and harmony were re-established, and with them the hope of seeing finally disappear the constant menace of Iroquois forays. The magnificent regiment of Carignan, composed of six hundred men, reassured the colonists while it daunted their savage enemies. Thus three of the Five Nations hastened to sue for peace, and they obtained it. In order to protect the frontiers of the colony, M. de Tracy caused three forts to be erected on the Richelieu River, one at Sorel, another at Chambly, a third still more remote, that of Ste. Thérèse; then at the head of six hundred soldiers, six hundred militia and a hundred Indians, he marched towards the hamlets of the Mohawks. The result of this expedition was, unhappily, as fruitless as that of the later campaigns undertaken against the Indians by MM. de Denonville and de Frontenac. After a difficult march they come into touch with the savages; but these all flee into the woods, and they find only their huts stocked with immense supplies of corn for the winter, and a great number of pigs. At least, if they cannot reach the barbarians themselves, they can inflict upon them a terrible punishment; they set fire to the cabins and the corn, the pigs are slaughtered, and thus a large

number of their wild enemies die of hunger during the winter. The viceroy was wise enough to accept the surrender of many Indians, and the peace which he concluded afforded the colony eighteen years of tranquillity.

The question of the apportionment of the tithes was settled in the following year, 1667. The viceroy, acting with MM. de Courcelles and Talon, decided that the tithe should be reduced to a twenty-sixth, by reason of the poverty of the inhabitants, and that newly-cleared lands should pay nothing for the first five years. Mgr. de Laval, ever ready to accept just and sensible measures, agreed to this decision. The revenues thus obtained were, none the less, insufficient, since the king subsequently gave eight or nine thousand francs to complete the endowment of the priests, whose annual salary was fixed at five hundred and seventy-four francs. In 1707 the sum granted by the French court was reduced to four thousand francs. If we remember that the French farmers contributed the thirteenth part of their harvest, that is to say, double the quantity of the Canadian tithe, for the support of their pastors, shall we deem excessive this modest tax raised from the colonists for men who devoted to them their time, their health, even their hours of rest, in order to procure for their parishioners the aid of religion? Is it not regrettable that too many among the colonists, who were yet such good Christians in the observ-

ance of religious practices, should have opposed an obstinate resistance to so righteous a demand ? Can it be that, by a special dispensation of Heaven, the priests and vicars of Canada are not liable to the same material needs as ordinary mortals, and are they not obliged to pay in good current coin for their food, their medicines and their clothes ?

The first seminary, built of stone,[1] rose in 1661 on the site of the present vicarage of the cathedral of Quebec; it cost eight thousand five hundred francs, two thousand of which were given by Mgr. de Laval. The first priest of Quebec and first superior of the seminary, M. Henri de Bernières, was able to occupy it in the autumn of the following year, and the Bishop of Petræa abode there from the time of his return from France on September 15th, 1663, until the burning of this house on November 15th, 1701. The first directors of the seminary were, besides M. de Bernières, MM. de Lauson-Charny, son of the former governor-general, Jean Dudouyt, Thomas Morel, Ange de Maizerets and Hugues Pommier. Except the first, who was a Burgundian, they were all born in the two provinces of Brittany and Normandy, the cradles of the majority of our ancestors.

The founder of the seminary had wished the livings to be transferable; later the government decided to the contrary, and the edict of 1679 decreed that the tithes should be payable only to the

[1] The house was first the presbytery.

permanent priests; nevertheless the majority of them remained of their own free will attached to the seminary. They had learned there to practise a complete abnegation, and to give to the faithful the example of a united and fervent clerical family. "Our goods were held in common with those of the bishop," wrote M. de Maizerets, "I have never seen any distinction made among us between poor and rich, or the birth and rank of any one questioned, since we all consider each other as brothers."

The pious bishop himself set an example of disinterestedness; all that he had, namely an income of two thousand five hundred francs, which the Jesuits paid him as the tithes of the grain harvested upon their property, and a revenue of a thousand francs which he had from his friends in France, went into the seminary. MM. de Bernières, de Maizerets and Dudouyt vied in the imitation of their model, and they likewise abandoned to the holy house their goods and their pensions. The prelate confined himself, like the others, from humility even more than from economy on behalf of the community, to the greatest simplicity in dress as well as in his environment. Aiming at the highest degree of possible perfection, he was satisfied with the coarsest fare, and incessantly added voluntary privations to the sacrifices demanded of him by his difficult duties. Does not this apostolic poverty recall the seminary established by the pious

founder of St. Sulpice, who wrote: "Each had at dinner a bowl of soup and a small portion of butcher's meat, without dessert, and in the evening likewise a little roast mutton"?

Mortification diminished in no wise the activity of the prelate; learning that the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, that nursery of apostles, had just been definitely established (1663), he considered it his duty to establish his own more firmly by affiliating it with that of the French capital. "I have learned with joy," wrote he, "of the establishment of your Seminary of Foreign Missions, and that the gales and tempests by which it has been tossed since the beginning have but served to render it firmer and more unassailable. I cannot sufficiently praise your zeal, which, unable to confine itself to the limits and frontiers of France, seeks to spread throughout the world, and to pass beyond the seas into the most remote regions; considering which, I have thought I could not compass a greater good for our young Church, nor one more to the glory of God and the welfare of the peoples whom God has entrusted to our guidance, than by contributing to the establishment of one of your branches in Quebec, the place of our residence, where you will be like the light set upon the candlestick, to illumine all these regions by your holy doctrine and the example of your virtue. Since you are the torch of foreign countries, it is only reasonable that there should be no quarter of

the globe uninfluenced by your charity and zeal. I hope that our Church will be one of the first to possess this good fortune, the more since it has already a part of what you hold most dear. Come then, and be welcome; we shall receive you with joy. You will find a lodging prepared and a fund sufficient to set up a small establishment, which I hope will continue to grow. . ." The act of union was signed in 1665, and was renewed ten years later with the royal assent.

Thanks to the generosity of Mgr. de Laval and of the first directors of the seminary, building and acquisition of land was begun. There was erected in 1668 a large wooden dwelling, which was in some sort an extension of the episcopal and parochial residence. It was destroyed in 1701, with the vicarage, in the conflagration which overwhelmed the whole seminary. Subsequently, there was purchased a site of sixteen acres adjoining the parochial church, upon which was erected the house of Madame Couillard. This house, in which lodged in 1668 the first pupils of the smaller seminary, was replaced in 1678 by a stone edifice, large enough to shelter all the pupils of both the seminaries. The seigniory of Beaupré was also acquired, which with remarkable foresight the bishop exchanged for the Ile Jésus. "It was prudent," remarks the Abbé Gosselin, "not to have all the property in the same place; when the seasons are bad in one part of the country they may be prosperous else-

where; and having thus sources of revenue in different places, one is more likely never to find them entirely lacking."

The smaller seminary dates only from the year 1668. Up to this time the large seminary alone existed; of the five ecclesiastics who were its inmates in 1663, Louis Joliet abandoned the priestly career. It was he who, impelled by his adventurous instincts, sought out, together with Father Marquette, the mouth of the Mississippi.

## CHAPTER V

### MGR. DE LAVAL AND THE SAVAGES

NOW, what were the results accomplished by the efforts of the missionaries at this period of our history? When in their latest hour they saw about them, as was very frequently the case, only the wild children of the desert uttering cries of ferocious joy, had they at least the consolation of discerning faithful disciples of Christ concealed among their executioners? Alas! we must admit that North America saw no renewal of the days when St. Peter converted on one occasion, at his first preaching, three thousand persons, and when St. Paul brought to Jesus by His word thousands of Gentiles. Were the missionaries of the New World, then, less zealous, less disinterested, less eloquent than the apostles of the early days of the Church? Let us listen to Mgr. Bourgard: "A few only among them, like the Brazilian apostle, Father Anthony Vieyra, died a natural death and found a grave in earth consecrated by the Church. Many, like Father Marquette, who reconnoitred the whole course of the Mississippi, succumbed to the burden of fatigue in the midst of the desert, and were buried under the turf by their sorrowful comrades. He had with him several Frenchmen, Fathers

Badin, Deseille and Petit; the two latter left their venerable remains among the wastes. Others met death at the bedside of the plague-stricken, and were martyrs to their charity, like Fathers Turgis and Dablon. An incalculable number died in the desert, alone, deprived of all aid, unknown to the whole world, and their bodies became the sustenance of birds of prey. Several obtained the glorious crown of martyrdom; such are the venerable Fathers Jogues, Corpo, Souël, Chabanel, Ribourde, Brébeuf, Lalemant, etc. Now they fell under the blows of raging Indians; now they were traitorously assassinated; again, they were impaled." In what, then, must we seek for the cause of the futility of these efforts? All those who know the savages will understand it; it is in the fickle character of these children of the woods, a character more unstable and volatile than that of infants. God alone knows what restless anxiety the conversions which they succeeded in bringing about caused to the missionaries and the pious Bishop of Petræa. Yet every day Mgr. de Laval ardently prayed, not only for the flock confided to his care but also for the souls which he had come from so far to seek to save from heathenism. If one of these devout men of God had succeeded at the price of a thousand dangers, of a thousand attempts, in proving to an Indian the insanity, the folly of his belief in the juggleries of a sorcerer, he must watch with jealous care lest his convert should lapse from

grace either through the sarcasms of the other redskins, or through the attractions of some cannibal festival, or by the temptation to satisfy an ancient grudge, or through the fear of losing a coveted influence, or even through the apprehension of the vengeance of the heathen. Did he think himself justified in expecting to see his efforts crowned with success? Suddenly he would learn that the poor neophyte had been led astray by the sight of a bottle of brandy, and that he had to begin again from the beginning.

No greater success was attained in many efforts which were exerted to give a European stamp to the character of the aborigines, than in divers attempts to train in civilized habits young Indians brought up in the seminaries. And we know that if success in this direction had been possible it would certainly have been obtained by educators like the Jesuit Fathers. "With the French admitted to the small seminary," says the Abbé Ferland, "six young Indians were received; on the advice of the king they were all to be brought up together. This union, which was thought likely to prove useful to all, was not helpful to the savages, and became harmful to the young Frenchmen. After a few trials it was understood that it was impossible to adapt to the regular habits necessary for success in a course of study these young scholars who had been reared in complete freedom. Comradeship with Algonquin and Huron children,

who were incapable of limiting themselves to the observance of a college rule, tended to give more force and persistence to the independent ideas which were natural in the young French-Canadians, who received from their fathers the love of liberty and the taste for an adventurous life."

But we must not infer, therefore, that the missionaries found no consolation in their troublous task. If sometimes the savage blood revealed itself in the neophytes in sudden insurrections, we must admit that the majority of the converts devoted themselves to the practice of virtues with an energy which often rose to heroism, and that already there began to appear among them that holy fraternity which the gospel everywhere brings to birth. The memoirs of the Jesuits furnish numerous evidences of this. We shall cite only the following: "A band of Hurons had come down to the Mission of St. Joseph. The Christians, suffering a great dearth of provisions, asked each other, 'Can we feed all those people?' As they said this, behold, a number of the Indians, disembarking from their little boats, go straight to the chapel, fall upon their knees and say their prayers. An Algonquin who had gone to salute the Holy Sacrament, having perceived them, came to apprise his captain that these Hurons were praying to God. 'Is it true?' said he. 'Come! come! we must no longer debate whether we shall give them food or not; they are our brothers, since they believe as well as we.'"

The conversion which caused the most joy to Mgr. de Laval was that of Garakontié, the noted chief of the Iroquois confederation. Accordingly he wished to baptize him himself in the cathedral of Quebec, and the governor, M. de Courcelles, consented to serve as godfather to the new follower of Christ. Up to this time the missions to the Five Nations had been ephemeral; by the first one Father Jogues had only been able to fertilize with his blood this barbarous soil; the second, established at Gannentaha, escaped the general massacre in 1658 only by a genuine miracle. This mission was commanded by Captain Dupuis, and comprised fifty-five Frenchmen. Five Jesuit Fathers were of the number, among them Fathers Chaumonot and Dablon. Everything up to that time had gone wonderfully well in the new establishment; the missionaries knew the Iroquois language so well, and so well applied the rules of savage eloquence, that they impressed all the surrounding tribes; accordingly they were full of trust and dreamed of a rapid extension of the Catholic faith in these territories. An Iroquois chief dispelled their illusion by revealing to them the plans of their enemies; they were already watched, and preparations were on foot to cut off their retreat. In this peril the colonists took counsel, and hastily constructed in the granaries of their quarters a few boats, some canoes and a large barge, destined to transport the provisions and the fugitives. They had to hasten, because the attack

against their establishment might take place at any moment, and they must profit by the breaking up of the ice, which was impending. But how could they transport this little flotilla to the river which flowed into Lake Ontario twenty miles away without giving the alarm and being massacred at the first step? They adopted a singular stratagem derived from the customs of these people, and one in which the fugitives succeeded perfectly. "A young Frenchman adopted by an Indian," relates Jacques de Beaudoncourt, "pretended to have a dream by which he was warned to make a festival, 'to eat everything,' if he did not wish to die presently. 'You are my son,' replied the Iroquois chief, 'I do not want you to die; prepare the feast and we shall eat everything.' No one was absent; some of the French who were invited made music to charm the guests. They ate so much, according to the rules of Indian civility, that they said to their host, 'Take pity on us, and let us go and rest.' 'You want me to die, then?' 'Oh, no!' And they betook themselves to eating again as best they could. During this time the other Frenchmen were carrying to the river the boats and provisions. When all was ready the young man said: 'I take pity on you, stop eating, I shall not die. I am going to have music played to lull you to sleep.' And sleep was not long in coming, and the French, slipping hastily away from the banquet hall, rejoined their comrades. They had left the dogs and the fowls

behind, in order the better to deceive the savages; a heavy snow, falling at the moment of their departure, had concealed all traces of their passage, and the banqueters imagined that a powerful Manitou had carried away the fugitives, who would not fail to come back and avenge themselves. After thirteen days of toilsome navigation, the French arrived in Montreal, having lost only three men from drowning during the passage. It had been thought that they were all massacred, for the plans of the Iroquois had become known in the colony; this escape brought the greatest honour to Captain Dupuis, who had successfully carried it out."

M. d'Argenson, then governor, did not approve of the retreat of the captain; this advanced bulwark protected the whole colony, and he thought that the French should have held out to the last man. This selfish opinion was disavowed by the great majority; the real courage of a leader does not consist in having all his comrades massacred to no purpose, but in saving by his calm intrepidity the largest possible number of soldiers for his country.

The Iroquois were tricked but not disarmed. Beside themselves with rage at the thought that so many victims about to be sacrificed to their hatred had escaped their blows, and desiring to end once for all the feud with their enemies, the Onondagas, they persuaded the other nations to join them in a rush upon Quebec. They succeeded easily, and twelve hundred savage warriors assembled at Cleft

Rock, on the outskirts of Montreal, and exposed the colony to the most terrible danger which it had yet experienced.

This was indeed a great peril; the dwellings above Quebec were without defence, and separated so far from each other that they stretched out nearly two leagues. But providentially the plan of these terrible foes was made known to the inhabitants of the town through an Iroquois prisoner. Immediately the most feverish activity was exerted in preparations for defence; the country houses and those of the Lower Town were abandoned, and the inhabitants took refuge in the palace, in the fort, with the Ursulines, or with the Jesuits; redoubts were raised, loop-holes bored and patrols established. At Ville-Marie no fewer precautions were taken; the governor surrounded a mill which he had erected in 1658, by a palisade, a ditch, and four bastions well entrenched. It stood on a height of the St. Louis Hill, and, called at first the Mill on the Hill, it became later the citadel of Montreal. Anxiety still prevailed everywhere, but God, who knows how to raise up, in the very moment of despair, the instruments which He uses in His infinite wisdom to protect the countries dear to His heart, that same God who gave to France the heroic Joan of Arc, produced for Canada an unexpected defender. Dollard and sixteen brave Montrealers were to offer themselves as victims to save the colony. Their devotion, which surpasses all

that history shows of splendid daring, proves the exaltation of the souls of those early colonists.

One morning in the month of July, 1660, Dollard, accompanied by sixteen valiant comrades, presented himself at the altar of the church in Montreal; these Christian heroes came to ask the God of the strong to bless the resolve which they had taken to go and sacrifice themselves for their brothers. Immediately after mass, tearing themselves from the embraces of their relatives, they set out, and after a long and toilsome march arrived at the foot of the Long Rapid, on the left bank of the Ottawa; the exact point where they stopped is probably Greece's Point, five or six miles above Carillon, for they knew that the Iroquois returning from the hunt must pass this place. They installed themselves within a wretched palisade, where they were joined almost at once by two Indian chiefs who, having challenged each other's courage, sought an occasion to surpass one another in valour. They were Anahotaha, at the head of forty Hurons, and Métiomègue, accompanied by four Algonquins. They had not long to wait; two canoes bore the Iroquois crews within musket shot; those who escaped the terrible volley which received them and killed the majority of them, hastened to warn the band of three hundred other Iroquois from whom they had become detached. The Indians, relying on an easy victory, hastened up, but they hurled themselves in vain upon the French, who, sheltered

by their weak palisade, crowned its stakes with the heads of their enemies as these were beaten down. Exasperated by this unexpected check, the Iroquois broke up the canoes of their adversaries, and, with the help of these fragments, which they set on fire, attempted to burn the little fortress; but a well sustained fire prevented the rashest from approaching. Their pride yielding to their thirst for vengeance, these three hundred men found themselves too few before such intrepid enemies, and they sent for aid to a band of five hundred of their people, who were camped on the Richelieu Islands. These hastened to the attack, and eight hundred men rushed upon a band of heroes strengthened by the sentiment of duty, the love of country and faith in a happy future. Futile efforts! The bullets made terrible havoc in their ranks, and they recoiled again, carrying with them only the assurance that their numbers had not paralyzed the courage of the French.

But the aspect of things was about to change, owing to the cowardice of the Hurons. Water failed the besieged tortured by thirst; they made sorties from time to time to procure some, and could bring back in their small and insufficient vessels only a few drops, obtained at the greatest peril. The Iroquois, aware of this fact, profited by it in order to offer life and pardon to the Indians who would go over to their side. No more was necessary to persuade the Hurons, and sud-

denly thirty of them followed La Mouche, the nephew of the Huron chief, and leaped over the palisades. The brave Anahotaha fired a pistol shot at his nephew, but missed him. The Algonquins remained faithful, and died bravely at their post. The Iroquois learned through these deserters the real number of those who were resisting them so boldly; they then took an oath to die to the last man rather than renounce victory, rather than cast thus an everlasting opprobrium on their nation. The bravest made a sort of shield with fagots tied together, and, placing themselves in front of their comrades, hurled themselves upon the palisades, attempting to tear them up. The supreme moment of the struggle has come; Dollard is aware of it. While his brothers in arms make frightful gaps in the ranks of the savages by well-directed shots, he loads with grape shot a musket which is to explode as it falls, and hurls it with all his might. Unhappily, the branch of a tree stays the passage of the terrible engine of destruction, which falls back upon the French and makes a bloody gap among them. "Surrender!" cries La Mouche to Anahotaha. "I have given my word to the French, I shall die with them," replies the bold chief. Already some stakes were torn up, and the Iroquois were about to rush like an avalanche through this breach, when a new Horatius Cocles, as brave as the Roman, made his body a shield for his brothers, and soon the axe which he held in his hand dripped

with blood. He fell, and was at once replaced. The French succumbed one by one; they were seen brandishing their weapons up to the moment of their last breath, and, riddled with wounds, they resisted to the last sigh. Drunk with vengeance, the wild conquerors turned over the bodies to find some still palpitating, that they might bind them to a stake of torture; three were in their mortal agony, but they died before being cast on the pyre. A single one was saved for the stake; he heroically resisted the refinements of the most barbarous cruelty; he showed no weakness, and did not cease to pray for his executioners. Everything in this glorious deed of arms must compel the admiration of the most remote posterity.

The wretched Hurons suffered the fate which they had deserved; they were burned in the different villages. Five escaped, and it was by their reports that men learned the details of an exploit which saved the colony. The Iroquois, in fact, considering what a handful of brave men had accomplished, took it for granted that a frontal attack on such men could only result in failure; they changed their tactics, and had recourse anew to their warfare of surprises and ambuscades, with the purpose of gradually destroying the little colony.

The dangers which might be risked by attacking so fierce a nation were, as may be seen, by no means imaginary. Many would have retreated, and awaited a favourable occasion to try and plant for

the third time the cross in the Iroquois village. The sons of Loyola did not hesitate; encouraged by Mgr. de Laval, they retraced their steps to the Five Nations. This time Heaven condescended to reward in a large measure their persistent efforts, and the harvest was abundant. In a short time the number of churches among these people had increased to ten.

The famous chief, Garakontié, whose conversion to Christianity caused so much joy to the pious Bishop of Petræa and to all the Christians of Canada, was endowed with a rare intelligence, and all who approached him recognized in him a mind as keen as it was profound. Not only did he keep faithfully the promises which he had made on receiving baptism, but the gratitude which he continued to feel towards the bishop and the missionaries made him remain until his death the devoted friend of the French. "He is an incomparable man," wrote Father Millet one day. "He is the soul of all the good that is done here; he supports the faith by his influence; he maintains peace by his authority; he declares himself so clearly for France that we may justly call him the protector of the Crown in this country." Feeling life escaping, he wished to give what the savages call their "farewell feast," a touching custom, especially when Christianity comes to sanctify it. His last words were for the venerable prelate, to whom he had vowed a deep attachment and respect. "The guests

having retired," wrote Father Lamberville, "he called me to him. 'So we must part at last,' said he to me; 'I am willing, since I hope to go to Heaven.' He then begged me to tell my beads with him, which I did, together with several Christians, and then he called me and said to me: 'I am dying.' Then he gave up the ghost very peacefully."

The labour demanded at this period by pastoral visits in a diocese so extended may readily be imagined. Besides the towns of Quebec, Montreal and Three Rivers, in which was centralized the general activity, there were then several Christian villages, those of Lorette, Ste. Foy, Sillery, the village of La Montagne at Montreal, of the Sault St. Louis, and of the Prairie de la Madeleine. Far from avoiding these trips, Mgr. de Laval took pleasure in visiting all the cabins of the savages, one after another, spreading the good Word, consoling the afflicted, and himself administering the sacraments of the Church to those who wished to receive them.

Father Dablon gives us in these terms the narrative of the visit of the bishop to the Prairie de la Madeleine in 1676. "This man," says he, speaking of the prelate, "this man, great by birth and still greater by his virtues, which have been quite recently the admiration of all France, and which on his last voyage to Europe justly acquired for him the esteem and the approval of the king; this

great man, making the rounds of his diocese, was conveyed in a little bark canoe by two peasants, exposed to all the inclemencies of the climate, without other retinue than a single ecclesiastic, and without carrying anything but a wooden cross and the ornaments absolutely necessary to a *bishop of gold*, according to the expression of authors in speaking of the first prelates of Christianity."

[The expedition of Dollard is related in detail by Dollier de Casson, and by Mother Mary of the Incarnation in her letters. The Abbé de Belmont gives a further account of the episode in his history. The *Jesuit Relations* place the scene of the affair at the Chaudière Falls. The sceptically-minded are referred to Kingsford's *History of Canada*, vol. I., p. 261, where a less romantic view of the affair is taken.]—Editors' Note on the Dollard Episode.

## CHAPTER VI

### SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY

TO the great joy of Mgr. de Laval the colony was about to develop suddenly, thanks to the establishment in the fertile plains of New France of the time-expired soldiers of the regiment of Carignan. The importance of the peopling of his diocese had always been capital in the eyes of the bishop, and we have seen him at work obtaining from the court new consignments of colonists. Accordingly, in the year 1663, three hundred persons had embarked at La Rochelle for Canada. Unfortunately, the majority of these passengers were quite young people, clerks or students, in quest of adventure, who had never worked with their hands. The consequences of this deplorable emigration were disastrous; more than sixty of these poor children died during the voyage. The king was startled at such negligence, and the three hundred colonists who embarked the following year, in small detachments, arrived in excellent condition. Moreover, they had made the voyage without expense, but had in return hired to work for three years with the farmers, for an annual wage which was to be fixed by the authorities. "It will seem to you perhaps strange," wrote M. de

Villeray, to the minister Colbert, "to see that we make workmen coming to us from France undergo a sort of apprenticeship, by distribution among the inhabitants; yet there is nothing more necessary, first, because the men brought to us are not accustomed to the tilling of the soil; secondly, a man who is not accustomed to work, unless he is urged, has difficulty in adapting himself to it; thirdly, the tasks of this country are very different from those of France, and experience shows us that a man who has wintered three years in the country, and who then hires out at service, receives double the wages of one just arriving from the Old Country. These are reasons of our own which possibly would not be admitted in France by those who do not understand them."

The Sovereign Council recommended, moreover, that there should be sent only men from the north of France, "because," it asserted, "the Normans, Percherons, Picards, and people from the neighbourhood of Paris are docile, laborious, industrious, and have much more religion. Now, it is important in the establishment of a country to sow good seed." While we accept in the proper spirit this eulogy of our ancestors, who came mostly from these provinces, how inevitably it suggests a comparison with the spirit of scepticism and irreverence which now infects, transitorily, let us hope, these regions of Northern France.

Never before had the harbour of Quebec seen so

much animation as in the year 1665. The solicitor-general, Bourdon, had set foot on the banks of the St. Lawrence in early spring; he escorted a number of girls chosen by order of the queen. Towards the middle of August two ships arrived bearing four companies of the regiment of Carignan, and the following month three other vessels brought, together with eight other companies, Governor de Courcelles and Commissioner Talon. Finally, on October 2nd, one hundred and thirty robust colonists and eighty-two maidens, carefully chosen, came to settle in the colony.

If we remember that there were only at this time seventy houses in Quebec, we may say without exaggeration that the number of persons who came from France in this year, 1665, exceeded that of the whole white population already resident in Canada. But it was desirable to keep this population in its entirety, and Commissioner Talon, well seconded by Mgr. de Laval, tenaciously pursued this purpose. The soldiers of Carignan, all brave, and pious too, for the most part, were highly desirable colonists. "What we seek most," wrote Mother Mary of the Incarnation, "is the glory of God and the welfare of souls. That is what we are working for, as well as to assure the prevalence of devotion in the army, giving the men to understand that we are waging here a holy war. There are as many as five hundred of them who have taken the scapulary of the Holy Virgin, and many others

who recite the chaplet of the Holy Family every day."

Talon met with a rather strong opposition to his immigration plans in the person of the great Colbert, who was afraid of seeing the Mother Country depopulated in favour of her new daughter Canada. His perseverance finally won the day, and more than four hundred soldiers settled in the colony. Each common soldier received a hundred francs, each sergeant a hundred and fifty francs. Besides, forty thousand francs were used in raising in France the additional number of fifty girls and a hundred and fifty men, which, increased by two hundred and thirty-five colonists, sent by the company in 1667, fulfilled the desires of the Bishop of Petræa.

The country would soon have been self-supporting if similar energy had been continuously employed in its development. It is a miracle that a handful of emigrants, cast almost without resources upon the northern shore of America, should have been able to maintain themselves so long, in spite of continual alarms, in spite of the deprivation of all comfort, and in spite of the rigour of the climate. With wonderful courage and patience they conquered a vast territory, peopled it, cultivated its soil, and defended it by prodigies of valour against the forays of the Indians.

The colony, happily, was to keep its bishop, the worthy Governor de Courcelles, and the best ad-

ministrator it ever had, the Commissioner Talon. But it was to lose a lofty intellect: the Marquis de Tracy, his mission ended to the satisfaction of all. set sail again for France. From the moment of his arrival in Canada the latter had inspired the greatest confidence. "These three gentlemen," say the annals of the hospital, speaking of the viceroy, of M. de Courcelles and M. Talon, "were endowed with all desirable qualities. They added to an attractive exterior much wit, gentleness and prudence, and were admirably adapted to instil a high idea of the royal majesty and power; they sought all means proper for moulding the country and laboured at this task with great application. This colony, under their wise leadership, expanded wonderfully, and according to all appearances gave hope of becoming most flourishing." Mgr. de Laval held the Marquis de Tracy in high esteem. "He is a man powerful in word and deed," he wrote to Pope Alexander VII, "a practising Christian, and the right arm of religion." The viceroy did not fear, indeed, to show that one may be at once an excellent Christian and a brave officer, whether he accompanied the Bishop of Petræa on the pilgrimage to good Ste. Anne, or whether he honoured himself in the religious processions by carrying a corner of the dais with the governor, the intendant and the agent of the West India Company. He was seen also at the laying of the foundation stone of the church of the

Jesuits, at the transfer of the relics of the holy martyrs Flavian and Felicitas, at the consecration of the cathedral of Quebec and at that of the chief altar of the church of the Ursulines, in fact, everywhere where he might set before the faithful the good example of piety and of the respect due to religion.

The eighteen years of peace with the Iroquois, obtained by the expedition of the Marquis de Tracy, allowed the intendant to encourage the development of the St. Maurice mines, to send the traveller Nicolas Perrot to visit all the tribes of the north and west, in order to establish or cement with them relations of trade or friendship, and to entrust Father Marquette and M. Joliet with the mission of exploring the course of the Mississippi. The two travellers carried their exploration as far as the junction of this river with the Arkansas, but their provisions failing them, they had to retrace their steps.

This state of peace came near being disturbed by the gross cupidity of some wretched soldiers. In the spring of 1669 three soldiers of the garrison of Ville-Marie, intoxicated and assassinated an Iroquois chief who was bringing back from his hunting some magnificent furs. M. de Courcelles betook himself at once to Montreal, but, during the process of this trial, it was learned that several months before three other Frenchmen had killed six Mohegan Indians with the same purpose of plunder.

The excitement aroused by these two murders was such that a general uprising of the savage nations was feared; already they had banded together for vengeance, and only the energy of the governor saved the colony from the horrors of another war. In the presence of all the Indians then quartered at Ville-Marie, he had the three assassins of the Iroquois chief brought before him, and caused them to be shot. He pledged himself at the same time to do like justice to the murderers of the Mohegans, as soon as they should be discovered. He caused, moreover, to be restored to the widow of the chief all the furs which had been stolen from him, and indemnified the two tribes, and thus by his firmness induced the restless nations to remain at peace. His vigilance did not stop at this. The Iroquois and the Ottawas being on the point of recommencing their feud, he warned them that he would not allow them to disturb the general order and tranquillity. He commanded them to send to him delegates to present the question of their mutual grievances. Receiving an arrogant reply from the Iroquois, who thought their country inaccessible to the French, he himself set out from Montreal on June 2nd, 1671, with fifty-six soldiers, in a specially constructed boat and thirteen bark canoes. He reached the entrance to Lake Ontario, and so daunted the Iroquois by his audacity that the Ottawas sued for peace. Profiting by the alarm with which he had just inspired them, M.

de Courcelles gave orders to the principal chiefs to go and await him at Cataraqui, there to treat with him on an important matter. They obeyed, and the governor declared to them his plan of constructing at this very place a fort where they might more easily arrange their exchanges. Not suspecting that the French had any other purpose than that of protecting themselves against inroads, they approved this plan; and so Fort Cataraqui, to-day the city of Kingston, was erected by Count de Frontenac, and called after this governor, who was to succeed M. de Courcelles.

Their transitory apprehensions did not interrupt the construction of the two churches of Quebec and Montreal, for they were built almost at the same time; the first was dedicated on July 11th, 1666, the second, begun in 1672, was finished only in 1678. The church of the old city of Champlain was of stone, in the form of a Roman cross; its length was one hundred feet, its width thirty-eight. It contained, besides the principal altar, a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph, another to Ste. Anne, and the chapel of the Holy Scapulary. Thrice enlarged, it gave place in 1755 to the present cathedral, for which the foundations of the older church were used. When the prelate arrived in 1659, the holy offices were already celebrated there, but the bishop hastened to end the work which it still required. "There is here," he wrote to the Common Father of the faithful, "a cathedral made of stone; it is

large and splendid. The divine service is celebrated in it according to the ceremony of bishops; our priests, our seminarists, as well as ten or twelve choir-boys, are regularly present there. On great festivals, the mass, vespers and evensong are sung to music, with orchestral accompaniment, and our organs mingle their harmonious voices with those of the chanters. There are in the sacristy some very fine ornaments, eight silver chandeliers, and all the chalices, pyxes, vases and censers are either gilt or pure silver."

The Sulpicians as well as the Jesuits have always professed a peculiar devotion to the Virgin Mary. It was the pious founder of St. Sulpice, M. Olier, who suggested to the Company of Notre-Dame the idea of consecrating to Mary the establishment of the Island of Montreal in order that she might defend it as her property, and increase it as her domain. They gladly yielded to this desire, and even adopted as the seal of the company the figure of Our Lady; in addition they confirmed the name of Ville-Marie, so happily given to this chosen soil.

It was the Jesuits who placed the church of Quebec under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception, and gave it as second patron St. Louis, King of France. This double choice could not but be agreeable to the pious Bishop of Petræa. Learning, moreover, that the members of the Society of Jesus renewed each year in Canada their vow to

fast on the eve of the festival of the Immaculate Conception, and to add to this mortification several pious practices, with the view of obtaining from Heaven the conversion of the savages, he approved this devotion, and ordered that in future it should likewise be observed in his seminary. He sanctioned other works of piety inspired or established by the Jesuit Fathers; the *novena*, which has remained so popular with the French-Canadians, at St. François-Xavier, the Brotherhoods of the Holy Rosary and of the Scapulary of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. He encouraged, above all, devotion to the Holy Family, and prescribed wise regulations for this worship. The Pope deigned to enrich by numerous indulgences the brotherhoods to which it gave birth, and in recent years Leo XIII instituted throughout the Church the celebration of the Festival of the Holy Family. "The worship of the Holy Family," the illustrious pontiff proclaims in a recent bull, "was established in America, in the region of Canada, where it became most flourishing, thanks chiefly to the solicitude and activity of the venerable servant of God, François de Montmorency Laval, first Bishop of Quebec, and of God's worthy handmaiden, Marguerite Bourgeoys." According to Cardinal Taschereau, it was Father Pijard who established the first Brotherhood of the Holy Family in 1650 in the Island of Montreal, but the real promoter of this cult was another Father of the Company of Jesus, Father Chaumonot, whom Mgr.

de Laval brought specially to Quebec to set at the head of the brotherhood which he had decided to found.

It was the custom, in these periods of fervent faith, to place buildings, cities and even countries under the ægis of a great saint, and Louis XIII had done himself the honour of dedicating France to the Virgin Mary. People did not then blush to practise and profess their beliefs, nor to proclaim them aloud. On the proposal of the Récollets in a general assembly, St. Joseph was chosen as the first patron saint of Canada; later, St. François-Xavier was adopted as the second special protector of the colony.

Montreal, which in the early days of its existence maintained with its rival of Cape Diamond a strife of emulation in the path of good as well as in that of progress, could no longer do without a religious edifice worthy of its already considerable importance. Mgr. de Laval was at this time on a round of pastoral visits, for, in spite of the fatigue attaching to such a journey, at a time when there was not yet even a carriage-road between the two towns, and when, braving contrary winds, storms and the snares of the Iroquois, one had to ascend the St. Lawrence in a bark canoe, the worthy prelate made at least eight visits to Montreal during the period of his administration. In a general assembly of May 12th, 1669, presided over by him, it was decided to establish the church on ground which had

belonged to Jean de Saint-Père, but since this site had not the elevation on which the Sulpicians desired to see the new temple erected, the work was suspended for two years more. The ecclesiastics of the seminary offered on this very height (for M. Dollier had given to the main street the name of Notre-Dame, which was that of the future church) some lots bought by them from Nicolas Godé and from Mme. Jacques Lemoyne, and situated behind their house; they offered besides in the name of M. de Bretonvilliers the sum of a thousand *livres tournois* for three years, to begin the work. These offers were accepted in an assembly of all the inhabitants, on June 10th, 1672; François Bailly, master mason, directed the building, and on the thirtieth of the same month, before the deeply moved and pious population, there were laid, immediately after high mass, the first five stones. There had been chosen the name of the Purification, because this day was the anniversary of that on which MM. Olier and de la Dauversière had caught the first glimpses of their vocation to work at the establishment of Ville-Marie, and because this festival had always remained in high honour among the Montrealers. The foundation was laid by M. de Courcelles, governor-general; the second stone had been reserved for M. Talon, but, as he could not accept the invitation, his place was taken by M. Philippe de Carion, representative of M. de la Motte Saint-Paul. The remaining stones

were laid by M. Perrot, governor of the island, by M. Dollier de Casson, representing M. de Bretonvilliers, and by Mlle. Mance, foundress of the Montreal hospital. The sight of this ceremony was one of the last joys of this good woman; she died on June 18th of the following year.

Meanwhile, all desired to contribute to the continuation of the work; some offered money, others materials, still others their labour. In their ardour the priests of the seminary had the old fort, which was falling into ruins, demolished in order to use the wood and stone for the new building. As lords of the island, they seemed to have the incontestable right to dispose of an edifice which was their private property. But M. de Bretonvilliers, to whom they referred the matter, took them to task for their haste, and according to his instructions the work of demolition was stopped, not to be resumed until ten years later. The colonists had an ardent desire to see their church finished, but they were poor, and, though a collection had brought in, in 1676, the sum of two thousand seven hundred francs, the work dragged along for two years more, and was finished only in 1678. "The church had," says M. Morin, "the form of a Roman cross, with the lower sides ending in a circular apse; its portal, built of hewn stone, was composed of two designs, one Tuscan, the other Doric; the latter was surmounted by a triangular pediment. This beautiful entrance, erected in 1722, according to the plans of

Chaussegros de Léry, royal engineer, was flanked on the right side by a square tower crowned by a campanile, from the summit of which rose a beautiful cross with *fleur-de-lis* twenty-four feet high. This church was built in the axis of Notre-Dame Street, and a portion of it on the Place d'Armes; it measured, in the clear, one hundred and forty feet long, and ninety-six feet wide, and the tower one hundred and forty-four feet high. It was razed in 1830, and the tower demolished in 1843."

Montreal continued to progress, and therefore to build. The Sulpicians, finding themselves cramped in their old abode, began in 1684 the construction of a new seigniorial and chapter house, of one hundred and seventy-eight feet frontage by eighty-four feet deep. These vast buildings, whose main façade faces on Notre-Dame Street, in front of the Place d'Armes, still exist. They deserve the attention of the tourist, if only by reason of their antiquity, and on account of the old clock which surmounts them, for though it is the most ancient of all in North America, this clock still marks the hours with average exactness. Behind these old walls extends a magnificent garden.

The spectacle presented by Ville-Marie at this time was most edifying. This great village was the school of martyrdom, and all aspired thereto, from the most humble artisan and the meanest soldier to the brigadier, the commandant, the governor, the priests and the nuns, and they found in this aspira-

tion, this faith and this hope, a strength and happiness known only to the chosen. From the bosom of this city had sprung the seventeen heroes who gave to the world, at the foot of the Long Sault, a magnificent example of what the spirit of Christian sacrifice can do; to a population which gave of its own free will its time and its labour to the building of a temple for the Lord, God had assigned a leader, who took upon his shoulders a heavy wooden cross, and bore it for the distance of a league up the steep flanks of Mount Royal, to plant it solemnly upon the summit; within the walls of the seminary lived men like M. Souart, physician of hearts and bodies, or like MM. Lemaître and Vignal, who were destined to martyrdom; in the halls of the hospital Mlle. Mance vied with Sisters de Brésoles, Maillet and de Macé, in attending to the most repugnant infirmities or healing the most tedious maladies; last but not least, Sister Bourgeoys and her pious comrades, Sisters Aimée Chatel, Catherine Crolo, and Marie Raisin, who formed the nucleus of the Congregation, devoted themselves with unremitting zeal to the arduous task of instruction.

Another favour was about to be vouchsafed to Canada in the birth of Mlle. Leber. M. de Maisonneuve and Mlle. Mance were her godparents, and the latter gave her her baptismal name. Jeanne Leber reproduced all the virtues of her godmother, and gave to Canada an example worthy of the

primitive Church, and such as finds small favour in the practical world of to-day. She lived a recluse for twenty years with the Sisters of the Congregation, and practised, till death relieved her, mortifications most terrifying to the physical nature.

At Quebec, the barometer of piety, if I may be excused so bold a metaphor, held at the same level as that of Montreal, and he would be greatly deceived who, having read only the history of the early years of the latter city, should despair of finding in the centre of edification founded by Champlain, men worthy to rank with Queylus and Lemaître, with Souart and Vignal, with Closse and Maisonneuve, and women who might vie with Marguerite Bourgeoys, with Jeanne Mance or with Jeanne Leber. To the piety of the Sulpicians of the colony planted at the foot of Mount Royal corresponded the fervour both of the priests who lived under the same roof as Mgr. de Laval, and of the sons of Loyola, who awaited in their house at Quebec their chance of martyrdom; the edifying examples given by the military chiefs of Montreal were equalled by those set by governors like de Mézy and de Courcelles; finally the virtues bordering on perfection of women like Mlle. Leber and the foundresses of the hospital and the Congregation found their equivalents in those of the pious Bishop of Petræa, of Mme. de la Peltrie and those of Mothers Mary of the Incarnation and Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène.

## MOTHER MARY OF THE INCARNATION

The Church will one day, perhaps, set upon her altars Mother Mary of the Incarnation, the first superior of the Ursulines at Quebec. The Theresa of New France, as she has been called, was endowed with a calm courage, an incredible patience, and a superior intellect, especially in spiritual matters; we find the proof of this in her letters and meditations which her son published in France. "At the head," says the Abbé Ferland, "of a community of weak women, devoid of resources, she managed to inspire her companions with the strength of soul and the trust in God which animated herself. In spite of the unteachableness and the fickleness of the Algonquin maidens, the troublesome curiosity of their parents, the thousand trials of a new and poor establishment, Mother Incarnation preserved an evenness of temper which inspired her comrades in toil with courage. Did some sudden misfortune appear, she arose with all the greatness of a Christian of the primitive Church to meet it with steadfastness. If her son spoke to her of the ill-treatment to which she was exposed on the part of the Iroquois, at a time when the affairs of the French seemed desperate, she replied calmly: 'Have no anxiety for me. I do not speak as to martyrdom, for your affection for me would incline you to desire it for me, but I mean as to other outrages. I see no reason for apprehension; all that I hear does not dismay me.' When she was cast out upon the snow, together with her sisters,

in the middle of a winter's night, by reason of a conflagration which devoured her convent, her first act was to prevail upon her companions to kneel with her to thank God for having preserved their lives, though He despoiled them of all that they possessed in the world. Her strong and noble soul seemed to rise naturally above the misfortunes which assailed the growing colony. Trusting fully to God through the most violent storms, she continued to busy herself calmly with her work, as if nothing in the world had been able to move her. At a moment when many feared that the French would be forced to leave the country, Mother of the Incarnation, in spite of her advanced age, began to study the language of the Hurons in order to make herself useful to the young girls of this tribe. Ever tranquil, she did not allow herself to be carried away by enthusiasm or stayed by fear. 'We imagine sometimes,' she wrote to her former superior at Tours, 'that a certain passing inclination is a vocation; no, events show the contrary. In our momentary enthusiasms we think more of ourselves than of the object we face, and so we see that when this enthusiasm is once past, our tendencies and inclinations remain on the ordinary plane of life.' Built on such a foundation, her piety was solid, sincere and truly enlightened. In perusing her writings, we are astonished at finding in them a clearness of thought, a correctness of style, and a firmness of judgment which give us a lofty idea of

this really superior woman. Clever in handling the brush as well as the pen, capable of directing the work of building as well as domestic labour, she combined, according to the opinion of her contemporaries, all the qualities of the strong woman of whom the Holy Scriptures give us so fine a portrait. She was entrusted with all the business of the convent. She wrote a prodigious number of letters, she learned the two mother tongues of the country, the Algonquin and the Huron, and composed for the use of her sisters, a sacred history in Algonquin, a catechism in Huron, an Iroquois catechism and dictionary, and a dictionary, catechism and collection of prayers in the Algonquin language."

## CHAPTER VII

### THE SMALLER SEMINARY

THE smaller seminary, founded by the Bishop of Petræa in 1668, for youths destined to the ecclesiastical life, justified the expectations of its founder, and witnessed an ever increasing influx of students. On the day of its inauguration, October 9th, there were only as yet eight French pupils and six Huron children. For lack of teachers the young neophytes, placed under the guidance of directors connected with the seminary, attended during the first years the classes of the Jesuit Fathers. Their special costume was a blue cloak, confined by a belt. At this period the College of the Jesuits contained already some sixty resident scholars, and what proves to us that serious studies were here pursued is that several scholars are quoted in the memoirs as having successfully defended in the presence of the highest authorities of the colony theses on physics and philosophy.

If the first bishop of New France had confined himself to creating one large seminary, it is certain that his chosen work, which was the preparation for the Church of a nursery of scholars and priests, the apostles of the future, would not have been complete.

For many young people, indeed, who lead a worldly existence, and find themselves all at once transferred to the serious, religious life of the seminary, the surprise, and sometimes the discomfort, may be great. One must adapt oneself to this atmosphere of prayer, meditation and study. The rules of prayer are certainly not beyond the limits of an ordinary mind, but the practice is more difficult than the theory. Not without effort can a youthful imagination, a mind ardent and consumed by its own fervour, relinquish all the memories of family and social occupations, in order to withdraw into silence, inward peace, and the mortification of the senses. To the devoutly-minded our worldly life may well seem petty in comparison with the more spiritual existence, and in the religious life, for the priest especially, lies the sole source and the indispensable condition of happiness. But one must learn to be thus happy by humility, study and prayer, as one learns to be a soldier by obedience, discipline and exercise, and in nothing did Laval more reveal his discernment than in the recognition of the fact that the transition from one life to the other must be effected only after careful instruction and wisely-guided deliberation.

The aim of the smaller seminary is to guide, by insensible gradations towards the great duties and the great responsibilities of the priesthood, young men upon whom the spirit of God seems to have rested. There were in Israel schools of prophets;

this does not mean that their training ended in the diploma of a seer or an oracle, but that this novitiate was favourable to the action of God upon their souls, and inclined them thereto. A smaller seminary possesses also the hope of the harvest. It is there that the minds of the students, by exercises proportionate to their age, become adapted unconstrainedly to pious reading, to the meditation and the grave studies in whose cycle the life of the priest must pass.

We shall not be surprised if the prelate's followers recognized in the works of faith which sprang up in his footsteps and progressed on all hands at Ville-Marie and at Quebec shining evidences of the protection of Mary to whose tutelage they had dedicated their establishments. This protection indeed has never been withheld, since to-day the fame of the university which sprang from the seminary, as a fruit develops from a bud, has crossed the seas. Father Monsabré, the eloquent preacher of Notre-Dame in Paris, speaking of the union of science and faith, exclaimed: "There exists, in the field of the New World, an institution which has religiously preserved this holy alliance and the traditions of the older universities, the Laval University of Quebec."

Mgr. de Laval, while busying himself with the training of his clergy, watched over the instruction of youth. He protected his schools and his dioceses; at Quebec the Jesuits, and later the seminary, maintained even elementary schools. If we must believe

the Abbé de Latour and other writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the children of the early colonists, skilful in manual labour, showed, nevertheless, great indolence of mind. "In general," writes Latour, "Canadian children have intelligence, memory and facility, and they make rapid progress, but the fickleness of their character, a dominant taste for liberty, and their hereditary and natural inclination for physical exercise do not permit them to apply themselves with sufficient perseverance and assiduity to become learned men; satisfied with a certain measure of knowledge sufficient for the ordinary purposes of their occupations (and this is, indeed, usually possessed), we see no people deeply learned in any branch of science. We must further admit that there are few resources, few books, and little emulation. No doubt the resources will be multiplied, and clever persons will appear in proportion as the colony increases." Always eager to develop all that might serve for the propagation of the faith or the progress of the colony, the devoted prelate eagerly fostered this natural aptitude of the Canadians for the arts and trades, and he established at St. Joachim a boarding-school for country children; this offered, besides a solid primary education, lessons in agriculture and some training for different trades.

Mgr. de Laval gave many other proofs of his enlightened charity for the poor and the waifs of

fortune ; he approved and encouraged among other works the Brotherhood of Saint Anne at Quebec. This association of prayer and spiritual aid had been established but three years before his arrival ; it was directed by a chaplain and two directors, the latter elected annually by secret ballot. He had wished to offer in 1660 a more striking proof of his devotion to the Mother of the Holy Virgin, and had caused to be built on the shore of Beaupré the first sanctuary of Saint Anne. This temple arose not far from a chapel begun two years before, under the care of the Abbé de Queylus. The origin of this place of devotion, it appears, was a great peril to which certain Breton sailors were exposed : assailed by a tempest in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, about the beginning of the seventeenth century, they made a vow to erect, if they escaped death, a chapel to good Saint Anne on the spot where they should land. Heaven heard their prayers, and they kept their word. The chapel erected by Mgr. de Laval was a very modest one, but the zealous missionary of Beaupré, the Abbé Morel, then chaplain, was the witness of many acts of ardent faith and sincere piety ; the Bishop of Petræa himself made several pilgrimages to the place. " We confess," says he, " that nothing has aided us more efficaciously to support the burden of the pastoral charge of this growing church than the special devotion which all the inhabitants of this country dedicate to Saint Anne, a devotion which, we

affirm it with certainty, distinguishes them from all other peoples." The poor little chapel, built of uprights, gave place in 1675 to a stone church erected by the efforts of M. Filion, proctor of the seminary, and it was noted for an admirable picture given by the viceroy, de Tracy, who did not disdain to make his pilgrimage like the rest, and to set thus an example which the great ones of the earth should more frequently give. This church lasted only a few years; Mgr. de Laval was still living when a third temple was built upon its site. This was enlarged in 1787, and gave place only in 1878 to the magnificent cathedral which we admire to-day. The faith which raised this sanctuary to consecrate it to Saint Anne did not die with its pious founder; it is still lively in our hearts, since in 1898 a hundred and twenty thousand pilgrims went to pray before the relic of Saint Anne, the precious gift of Mgr. de Laval.

In our days, hardly has the sun melted the thick mantle of snow which covers during six months the Canadian soil, hardly has the majestic St. Lawrence carried its last blocks of ice down to the ocean, when caravans of pious pilgrims from all quarters of the country wend their way towards the sanctuary raised upon the shores of Beaupré. Whole families fill the cars; the boats of the Richelieu Company stop to receive passengers at all the charming villages strewn along the banks of the river, and the cathedral which raises in the air its

slender spires on either side of the immense statue of Saint Anne does not suffice to contain the ever renewed throng of the faithful.

Even in the time of Mgr. de Laval, pilgrimages to Saint Anne's were frequent, and it was not only French people but also savages who addressed to the Mother of the Virgin Mary fervent, and often very artless, prayers. The harvest became, in fact, more abundant in the missions, and

"Les prêtres ne pouvaient suffire aux sacrifices." [1]

From the banks of the Saguenay at Tadousac, or from the shore of Hudson Bay, where Father Albanel was evangelizing the Indians, to the recesses of the Iroquois country, a Black Robe taught from interval to interval in a humble chapel the truths of the Christian religion. "We may say," wrote Father Dablon in 1671, "that the torch of the faith now illumines the four quarters of this New World. More than seven hundred baptisms have this year consecrated all our forests; more than twenty different missions incessantly occupy our Fathers among more than twenty diverse nations; and the chapels erected in the districts most remote from here are almost every day filled with these poor barbarians, and in some of them there have been consummated sometimes ten, twenty, and even thirty baptisms on a single occasion." And, ever faithful to the established power, the missionaries taught their neophytes not only religion, but

[1] Racine's *Athalie*.

also the respect due to the king. Let us hearken to Father Allouez speaking to the mission of Sault Ste. Marie: "Cast your eyes," says he, "upon the cross raised so high above your heads. It was upon that cross that Jesus Christ, the son of God, become a man by reason of His love for men, consented to be bound and to die, in order to satisfy His Eternal Father for our sins. He is the master of our life, the master of Heaven, earth and hell. It is He of whom I speak to you without ceasing, and whose name and word I have borne into all these countries. But behold at the same time this other stake, on which are hung the arms of the great captain of France, whom we call the king. This great leader lives beyond the seas; he is the captain of the greatest captains, and has not his peer in the world. All the captains that you have ever seen, and of whom you have heard speak, are only children beside him. He is like a great tree; the rest are only little plants crushed under men's footsteps as they walk. You know Onontio, the famous chieftain of Quebec; you know that he is the terror of the Iroquois, his mere name makes them tremble since he has desolated their country and burned their villages. Well, there are beyond the seas ten thousand Onontios like him. They are only the soldiers of this great captain, our great king, of whom I speak to you."

Mgr. de Laval ardently desired, then, the arrival of new workers for the gospel, and in the year

1668, the very year of the foundation of the seminary, his desire was fulfilled, as if Providence wished to reward His servant at once. Missionaries from France came to the aid of the priests of the Quebec seminary, and Sulpicians, such as MM. de Queylus, d'Urfé, Dallet and Brehan de Gallinée, arrived at Montreal; MM. François de Salignac-Fénelon and Claude Trouvé had already landed the year before. "I have during the last month," wrote the prelate, "commissioned two most good and virtuous apostles to go to an Iroquois community which has been for some years established quite near us on the northern side of the great Lake Ontario. One is M. de Fénelon, whose name is well-known in Paris, and the other M. Trouvé. We have not yet been able to learn the result of their mission, but we have every reason to hope for its complete success."

While he was enjoining upon these two missionaries, on their departure for the mission on which he was sending them, that they should always remain in good relations with the Jesuit Fathers, he gave them some advice worthy of the most eminent doctors of the Church :—

"A knowledge of the language," he says, "is necessary in order to influence the savages. It is, nevertheless, one of the smallest parts of the equipment of a good missionary, just as in France to speak French well is not what makes a successful preacher. The talents which make good missionaries are :

"1. To be filled with the spirit of God; this spirit must animate our words and our hearts: *Ex abundantia cordis os loquitur.*

"2. To have great prudence in the choice and arrangement of the things which are necessary either to enlighten the understanding or to bend the will; all that does not tend in this direction is labour lost.

" 3. To be very assiduous, in order not to lose opportunities of procuring the salvation of souls, and supplying the neglect which is often manifest in neophytes; for, since the devil on his part *circuit tanquam leo rugiens, quærens quem devoret*, so we must be vigilant against his efforts, with care, gentleness and love.

" 4. To have nothing in our life and in our manners which may appear to belie what we say, or which may estrange the minds and hearts of those whom we wish to win to God.

" 5. We must make ourselves beloved by our gentleness, patience and charity, and win men's minds and hearts to incline them to God. Often a bitter word, an impatient act or a frowning countenance destroys in a moment what has taken a long time to produce.

" 6. The spirit of God demands a peaceful and pious heart, not a restless and dissipated one; one should have a joyous and modest countenance; one should avoid jesting and immoderate laughter, and in general all that is contrary to a holy and joyful

modesty: *Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus.*"

The new Sulpicians had been most favourably received by Mgr. de Laval, and the more so since almost all of them belonged to great families and had renounced, like himself, ease and honour, to devote themselves to the rude apostleship of the Canadian missions.

The difficulties between the bishop and the Abbé de Queylus had disappeared, and had left no trace of bitterness in the souls of these two servants of God. M. de Queylus gave good proof of this subsequently; he gave six thousand francs to the hospital of Quebec, of which one thousand were to endow facilities for the treatment of the poor, and five thousand for the maintenance of a choir-nun. His generosity, moreover, was proverbial: "I cannot find a man more grateful for the favour that you have done him than M. de Queylus," wrote the intendant, Talon, to the minister, Colbert. "He is going to arrange his affairs in France, divide with his brothers, and collect his wordly goods to use them in Canada, at least so he has assured me. If he has need of your protection, he is striving to make himself worthy of it, and I know that he is most zealous for the welfare of this colony. I believe that a little show of benevolence on your part would redouble this zeal, of which I have good evidence, for what you desire the most, the education of the

native children, which he furthers with all his might."

The abbé found the seminary in conditions very different from those prevailing at the time of his departure. In 1663, the members of the Company of Notre-Dame of Montreal had made over to the Sulpicians the whole Island of Montreal and the seigniory of St. Sulpice. Their purpose was to assure the future of the three works which they had not ceased, since the birth of their association, to seek to establish : a seminary for the education of priests in the colony, an institution of education for young girls, and a hospital for the care of the sick.

To learn the happy results due to the eloquence of MM. Trouvé and de Fénelon engaged in the evangelization of the tribes encamped to the north of Lake Ontario, or to that of MM. Dollier de Casson and Gallinée preaching on the shores of Lake Erie, one must read the memoirs of the Jesuit Fathers. We must bear in mind that many facts, which might appear to redound too much to the glory of the missionaries, the modesty of these men refused to give to the public. We shall give an example. One day when M. de Fénelon had come down to Quebec, in the summer of 1669, to give account of his efforts to his bishop, Mgr. de Laval begged the missionary to write a short abstract of his labours for the memoirs. "Monseigneur," replied humbly the modest Sulpician, "the greatest favour that you can do us is not to allow

us to be mentioned." Will he, at least, like the traveller who, exhausted by fatigue and privation, reaches finally the promised land, repose in Capuan delights? Mother Mary of the Incarnation informs us on this point: "M. L'abbé de Fénelon," says she, "having wintered with the Iroquois, has paid us a visit. I asked him how he had been able to subsist, having had only sagamite[1] as sole provision, and pure water to drink. He replied that he was so accustomed to it that he made no distinction between this food and any other, and that he was about to set out on his return to pass the winter again there with M. de Trouvé, having left him only to go and get the wherewithal to pay the Indians who feed them. The zeal of these great servants of God is admirable."

The activity and the devotion of the Jesuits and of the Sulpicians might thus make up for lack of numbers, and Mgr. de Laval judged that they were amply sufficient for the task of the holy ministry. But the intendant, Talon, feared lest the Society of Jesus should become omnipotent in the colony; adopting from policy the famous device of Catherine de Medici, *divide to rule*, he hoped that an order of mendicant friars would counterbalance the influence of the sons of Loyola, and he brought with him from France, in 1670, Father Allard, Superior of the Récollets in the Province of St. Denis, and four other brothers of the same order.

[1] A sort of porridge of water and pounded maize.

We must confess that, if a new order of monks was to be established in Canada, it was preferable in all justice to apply to that of St. Francis rather than to any others, for had it not traced the first evangelical furrows in the new field and left glorious memories in the colony?

Mgr. de Laval received from the king in 1671 the following letter:

"My Lord Bishop of Petræa:

"Having considered that the re-establishment of the monks of the Order of St. Francis on the lands which they formerly possessed in Canada might be of great avail for the spiritual consolation of my subjects and for the relief of your ecclesiastics in the said country, I send you this letter to tell you that my intention is that you should give to the Rev. Father Allard, the superior, and to the four monks whom he brings with him, the power of administering the sacraments to all those who may have need of them and who may have recourse to these reverend Fathers, and that, moreover, you should aid them with your authority in order that they may resume possession of all which belongs to them in the said country, to all of which I am persuaded you will willingly subscribe, by reason of the knowledge which you have of the relief which my subjects will receive. . . ."

The prelate had not been consulted; moreover, the intervention of the newcomers did not seem to him opportune. But he was obstinate and unap-

proachable only when he believed his conscience involved; he received the Récollets with great benevolence and rendered them all the service possible. "He gave them abundant aid," says Latour, "and furnished them for more than a year with food and lodging. Although the Order had come in spite of him, he gave them at the outset four missions: Three Rivers, Ile Percé, St. John's River and Fort Frontenac. These good Fathers were surprised; they did not cease to praise the charity of the bishop, and confessed frankly that, having only come to oppose his clergy, they could not understand why they were so kindly treated."

After all, the breadth of character of these brave heroes of evangelic poverty could not but please the Canadian people; ever gay and pleasant, and of even temper, they traversed the country to beg a meagre pittance. Everywhere received with joy, they were given a place at the common table; they were looked upon as friends, and the people related to them their joys and afflictions. Hardly was a robe of drugget descried upon the horizon when the children rushed forward, surrounded the good Father, and led him by the hand to the family fireside. The Récollets had always a good word for this one, a consolatory speech for that one, and on occasion, brought up as they had been, for the most part under a modest thatched roof, knew how to lend a hand at the plough, or suggest a good counsel if the flock were attacked by some sick-

ness. On their departure, the benediction having been given to all, there was a vigorous hand-shaking, and already their hosts were discounting the pleasure of a future visit.

On their arrival the Récollet Fathers lodged not far from the Ursuline Convent, till the moment when, their former monastery on the St. Charles River being repaired, they were able to install themselves there. Some years later they built a simple refuge on land granted them in the Upper Town. Finally, having become almoners of the Château St. Louis, where the governor resided, they built their monastery opposite the castle, back to back with the magnificent church which bore the name of St. Anthony of Padua. They reconquered the popularity which they had enjoyed in the early days of the colony, and the bishop entrusted to their devotion numerous parishes and four missions. Unfortunately, they allowed themselves to be so influenced by M. de Frontenac, in spite of repeated warnings from Mgr. de Laval, that they espoused the cause of the governor in the disputes between the latter and the intendant, Duchesneau. Their gratitude towards M. de Frontenac, who always protected them, is easily explained, but it is no less true that they should have respected above all the authority of the prelate who alone had to answer before God for the religious administration of his diocese.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONY

THIS year, 1668, would have brought only consolations to Mgr. de Laval, if, unhappily, M. de Talon had not inflicted a painful blow upon the heart of the prelate: the commissioner obtained from the Sovereign Council a decree permitting the unrestricted sale of intoxicating drinks both to the savages and to the French, and only those who became intoxicated might be sentenced to a slight penalty. This was opening the way for the greatest abuses, and no later than the following year Mother Mary of the Incarnation wrote: "What does the most harm here is the traffic in wine and brandy. We preach against those who give these liquors to the savages; and yet many reconcile their consciences to the permission of this thing. They go into the woods and carry drinks to the savages in order to get their furs for nothing when they are drunk. Immorality, theft and murder ensue. . . . We had not yet seen the French commit such crimes, and we can attribute the cause of them only to the pernicious traffic in brandy."

Commissioner Talon was, however, the cleverest administrator that the colony had possessed, and the title of the "Canadian Colbert" which Bibaud

confers upon him is well deserved. Mother Incarnation summed up his merits well in the following terms: "M. Talon is leaving us," said she, "and returning to France, to the great regret of everybody and to the loss of all Canada, for since he has been here in the capacity of commissioner the country has progressed and its business prospered more than they had done since the French occupation." Talon worked with all his might in developing the resources of the colony, by exploiting the mines, by encouraging the fisheries, agriculture, the exportation of timber, and general commerce, and especially by inducing, through the gift of a few acres of ground, the majority of the soldiers of the regiment of Carignan to remain in the country. He entered every house to enquire of possible complaints; he took the first census, and laid out three villages near Quebec. His plans for the future were vaster still: he recommended the king to buy or conquer the districts of Orange and Manhattan; moreover, according to Abbé Ferland, he dreamed of connecting Canada with the Antilles in commerce. With this purpose he had had a ship built at Quebec, and had bought another in order to begin at once. This very first year he sent to the markets of Martinique and Santo Domingo fresh and dry cod, salted salmon, eels, pease, seal and porpoise oil, clapboards and planks. He had different kinds of wood cut in order to try them, and he exported masts to La Rochelle, which he hoped to see used in the

shipyards of the Royal Navy. He proposed to Colbert the establishment of a brewery, in order to utilize the barley and the wheat, which in a few years would be so abundant that the farmer could not sell them. This was, besides, a means of preventing drunkenness, and of retaining in the country the sum of one hundred thousand francs, which went out each year for the purchase of wines and brandies. M. Talon presented at the same time to the minister the observations which he had made on the French population of the country. "The people," said Talon, "are a mosaic, and though composed of colonists from different provinces of France whose temperaments do not always sympathize, they seem to me harmonious enough. There are," he added, "among these colonists people in easy circumstances, indigent people and people between these two extremes."

But he thought only of the material development of the colony; upon others, he thought, were incumbent the responsibility for and defence of spiritual interests. He was mistaken, for, although he had not in his power the direction of souls, his duties as a simple soldier of the army of Christ imposed upon him none the less the obligation of avoiding all that might contribute to the loss of even a single soul. The disorders which were the inevitable result of a free traffic in intoxicating liquors, finally assumed such proportions that the council, without going as far as the absolute pro-

hibition of the sale of brandy to the Indians, restricted, nevertheless, this deplorable traffic; it forbade under the most severe penalties the carrying of firewater into the woods to the savages, but it continued to tolerate the sale of intoxicating liquors in the French settlements. It seems that Cavelier de la Salle himself, in his store at Lachine where he dealt with the Indians, did not scruple to sell them this fatal poison.

From 1668 to 1670, during the two years that Commissioner Talon had to spend in France, both for reasons of health and on account of family business, he did not cease to work actively at the court for his beloved Canada. M. de Bouteroue, who took his place during his absence, managed to prejudice the minds of the colonists in his favour by his exquisite urbanity and the polish of his manners.

It will not be out of place, we think, to give here some details of the state of the country and its resources at this period. Since the first companies in charge of Canada were formed principally of merchants of Rouen, of La Rochelle and of St. Malo, it is not astonishing that the first colonists should have come largely from Normandy and Perche. It was only about 1660 that fine and vigorous offspring increased a population which up to that time was renewed only through immigration; in the early days, in fact, the colonists lost all their children, but they found in this only a new

reason for hope in the future. "Since God takes the first fruits," said they, "He will save us the rest." The wise and far-seeing mind of Cardinal Richelieu had understood that agricultural development was the first condition of success for a young colony, and his efforts in this direction had been admirably seconded both by Commissioner Talon and Mgr. de Laval at Quebec, and by the Company of Montreal, which had not hesitated at any sacrifice in order to establish at Ville-Marie a healthy and industrious population. If the reader doubts this, let him read the letters of Talon, of Mother Mary of the Incarnation, of Fathers Le Clercq and Charlevoix, of M. Aubert and many others. "Great care had been exercised," says Charlevoix, "in the selection of candidates who had presented themselves for the colonization of New France. . . . As to the girls who were sent out to be married to the new inhabitants, care was always taken to enquire of their conduct before they embarked, and their subsequent behaviour was a proof of the success of this system. During the following years the same care was exercised, and we soon saw in this part of America a generation of true Christians growing up, among whom prevailed the simplicity of the first centuries of the Church, and whose posterity has not yet lost sight of the great examples set by their ancestors. . . . In justice to the colony of New France we must admit that the source of almost all the families

which still survive there to-day is pure and free from those stains which opulence can hardly efface; this is because the first settlers were either artisans always occupied in useful labour, or persons of good family who came there with the sole intention of living there more tranquilly and preserving their religion in greater security. I fear the less contradiction upon this head since I have lived with some of these first colonists, all people still more respectable by reason of their honesty, their frankness and the firm piety which they profess than by their white hair and the memory of the services which they rendered to the colony."

M. Aubert says, on his part: "The French of Canada are well built, nimble and vigorous, enjoying perfect health, capable of enduring all sorts of fatigue, and warlike; which is the reason why, during the last war, French-Canadians received a fourth more pay than the French of Europe. All these advantageous physical qualities of the French-Canadians arise from the fact that they have been born in a good climate, and nourished by good and abundant food, that they are at liberty to engage from childhood in fishing, hunting, and journeying in canoes, in which there is much exercise. As to bravery, even if it were not born with them as Frenchmen, the manner of warfare of the Iroquois and other savages of this continent, who burn alive almost all their prisoners with incredible cruelty, caused the French to face ordinary death in battle

as a boon rather than be taken alive ; so that they fight desperately and with great indifference to life." The consequence of this judicious method of peopling a colony was that, the trunk of the tree being healthy and vigorous, the branches were so likewise. "It was astonishing," wrote Mother Mary of the Incarnation, "to see the great number of beautiful and well-made children, without any corporeal deformity unless through accident. A poor man will have eight or more children, who in the winter go barefooted and bareheaded, with a little shirt upon their back, and who live only on eels and bread, and nevertheless are plump and large."

Property was feudal, as in France, and this constitution was maintained even after the conquest of the country by the English. Vast stretches of land were granted to those who seemed, thanks to their state of fortune, fit to form centres of population, and these seigneurs granted in their turn parts of these lands to the immigrants for a rent of from one to three cents per acre, according to the value of the land, besides a tribute in grain and poultry. The indirect taxation consisted of the obligation of maintaining the necessary roads, one day's compulsory labour per year, convertible into a payment of forty cents, the right of *mouture*, consisting of a pound of flour on every fourteen from the common mill, finally the payment of a twelfth in case of transfer and sale (stamp and registration). This seigniorial tenure was burdensome, we must admit,

though it was less crushing than that which weighed upon husbandry in France before the Revolution. The farmers of Canada uttered a long sigh of relief when it was abolished by the legislature in 1867.

The habits of this population were remarkably simple; the costume of some of our present out-of-door clubs gives an accurate idea of the dress of that time, which was the same for all: the garment of wool, the cloak, the belt of arrow pattern, and the woollen cap, called tuque, formed the national costume. And not only did the colonists dress without the slightest affectation, but they even made their clothes themselves. "The growing of hemp," says the Abbé Ferland, "was encouraged, and succeeded wonderfully. They used the nettle to make strong cloths; looms set up in each house in the village furnished drugget, bolting cloth, serge and ordinary cloth. The leathers of the country sufficed for a great portion of the needs of the population. Accordingly, after enumerating the advances in agriculture and industry, Talon announced to Colbert with just satisfaction, that he could clothe himself from head to foot in Canadian products, and that in a short time the colony, if it were well administered, would draw from Old France only a few objects of prime need."

The interior of the dwellings was not less simple, and we find still in our country districts a goodly number of these old French houses; they had only one single room, in which the whole family ate,

lived and slept, and received the light through three windows. At the back of the room was the bed of the parents, supported by the wall, in another corner a couch, used as a seat during the day and as a bed for the children during the night, for the top was lifted off as one lifts the cover of a box. Built into the wall, generally at the right of the entrance, was the stone chimney, whose top projected a little above the roof; the stewpan, in which the food was cooked, was hung in the fireplace from a hook. Near the hearth a staircase, or rather a ladder, led to the loft, which was lighted by two windows cut in the sides, and which held the grain. Finally a table, a few chairs or benches completed these primitive furnishings, though we must not forget to mention the old gun hung above the bed to be within reach of the hand in case of a night surprise from the dreaded Iroquois.

In peaceful times, too, the musket had its service, for at this period every Canadian was born a disciple of St. Hubert. We must confess that this great saint did not refuse his protection in this country, where, with a single shot, a hunter killed, in 1663, a hundred and thirty wild pigeons. These birds were so tame that one might kill them with an oar on the bank of the river, and so numerous that the colonists, after having gathered and salted enough for their winter's provision, abandoned the rest to the dogs and pigs. How many hunters of our day would have displayed their skill in these fortu-

nate times! This abundance of pigeons at a period when our ancestors were not favoured in the matter of food as we are to-day, recalls at once to our memory the quail that Providence sent to the Jews in the desert; and it is a fact worthy of mention that as soon as our forefathers could dispense with this superabundance of game, the wild pigeons disappeared so totally and suddenly that the most experienced hunters cannot explain this sudden disappearance. There were found also about Ville-Marie many partridge and duck, and since the colonists could not go out after game in the woods, where they would have been exposed to the ambuscades of the Iroquois, the friendly Indians brought to market the bear, the elk, the deer, the buffalo, the caribou, the beaver and the muskrat. On fast days the Canadians did not lack for fish; eels were sold at five francs a hundred, and in June, 1649, more than three hundred sturgeons were caught at Montreal within a fortnight. The shad, the pike, the wall-eyed pike, the carp, the brill, the maskinonge were plentiful, and there was besides, more particularly at Quebec, good herring and salmon fishing, while at Malbaie (Murray Bay) codfish, and at Three Rivers white fish were abundant.

At first, food, clothing and property were all paid for by exchange of goods. Men bartered, for example, a lot of ground for two cows and a pair of stockings; a more considerable piece of land was to be had for two oxen, a cow and a little money.

"Poverty," says Bossuet, speaking of other nations, "was not an evil; on the contrary, they looked upon it as a means of keeping their liberty more intact, there being nothing freer or more independent than a man who knows how to live on little, and who, without expecting anything from the protection or the largess of others, relies for his livelihood only on his industry and labour." Voltaire has said with equal justice: "It is not the scarcity of money, but that of men and talent, which makes an empire weak."

On the arrival of the royal troops coin became less rare. "Money is now common," wrote Mother Incarnation, "these gentlemen having brought much of it. They pay cash for all they buy, both food and other necessaries." Money was worth a fourth more than in France, thus fifteen cents were worth twenty. As a natural consequence, two currencies were established in New France, and the *livre tournois* (French franc) was distinguished from the franc of the country. The Indians were dealt with by exchanges, and one might see them traversing the streets of Quebec, Montreal or Three Rivers, offering from house to house rich furs, which they bartered for blankets, powder, lead, but above all, for that accursed firewater which caused such havoc among them, and such interminable disputes between the civil and the religious power. Intoxicating liquors were the source of many disorders, and we cannot too much regret that this

stain rested upon the glory of New France. Yet such a society, situated in what was undeniably a difficult position, could not be expected to escape every imperfection.

The activity and the intelligence of Mgr. de Laval made themselves felt in every beneficent and progressive work. He could not remain indifferent to the education of his flock; we find him as zealous for the progress of primary education as for the development of his two seminaries or his school at St. Joachim. Primary instruction was given first by the good Récollets at Quebec, at Tadousac and at Three Rivers. The Jesuits replaced them, and were able, thanks to the munificence of the son of the Marquis de Gamache, to add a college to their elementary school at Quebec. At Ville-Marie the Sulpicians, with never-failing abnegation, not content with the toil of their ministry, lent themselves to the arduous task of teaching; the venerable superior himself, M. Souart, took the modest title of headmaster. From a healthy bud issues a fine fruit: just as the smaller seminary of Quebec gave birth to the Laval University, so from the school of M. Souart sprang in 1733 the College of Montreal, transferred forty years later to the Château Vaudreuil, on Jacques Cartier Square; then to College Street, now St. Paul Street. The college rises to-day on an admirable site on the slope of the mountain; the main seminary, which adjoins it, seems to dominate the city stretched at its feet, as

the two sister sciences taught there, theology and philosophy, dominate by their importance the other branches of human knowledge.

M. de Fénelon, who was already devoted to the conversion of the savages in the famous mission of Montreal mountain, gave the rest of his time to the training of the young Iroquois; he gathered them in a school erected by his efforts near Pointe Claire, on the Dorval Islands, which he had received from M. de Frontenac. Later on the Brothers Charron established a house at Montreal with a double purpose of charity: to care for the poor and the sick, and to train men in order to send them to open schools in the country district. This institution, in spite of the enthusiasm of its founders, did not succeed, and became extinct about the middle of the eighteenth century. Finally, in 1838, Canada greeted with joy the arrival of the sons of the blessed Jean Baptiste de la Salle, the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, so well known throughout the world for their modesty and success in teaching.

The girls of the colony were no less well looked after than the boys; at Quebec, the Ursuline nuns, established in that city by Madame de la Peltrie, trained them for the future irreproachable mothers of families. The attempts made to Gallicize the young savages met with no success in the case of the boys, but were better rewarded by the young Indian girls. "We have Gallicized," writes Mother

Mary of the Incarnation, "a number of Indian girls, both Hurons and Algonquins, whom we subsequently married to Frenchmen, who get along with them very well. There is one among them who reads and writes to perfection, both in her native Huron tongue and in French; no one can discern or believe that she was born a savage. The commissioner was so delighted at this that he induced her to write for him something in the two languages, in order to take it to France and show it as an extraordinary production." Further on she adds, "It is a very difficult thing, not to say impossible, to Gallicize or civilize them. We have more experience in this than any one else, and we have observed that of a hundred who have passed through our hands we have hardly civilized one. We find in them docility and intelligence, but when we least expect it, they climb over our fence and go off to run the woods with their parents, where they find more pleasure than in all the comforts of our French houses."

At Montreal it was the venerable Marguerite Bourgeoys who began to teach in a poor hovel the rudiments of the French tongue. This humble school was transformed a little more than two centuries later into one of the most vast and imposing edifices of the city of Montreal. Fire destroyed it in 1893, but we must hope that this majestic monument of Ville-Marie will soon rise again from its ruins to become the centre of opera-

tions of the numerous educational institutions of the Congregation of Notre-Dame which cover our country. M. l'abbé Verreau, the much regretted principal of the Jacques Cartier Normal School, appreciates in these terms the services rendered to education by Mother Bourgeoys, a woman eminent from all points of view: "The Congregation of Notre-Dame," says he, "is a truly national institution, whose ramifications extend beyond the limits of Canada. Marguerite Bourgeoys took in hand the education of the women of the people, the basis of society. She taught young women to become what they ought to be, especially at this period, women full of moral force, of modesty, of courage in the face of the dangers in the midst of which they lived. If the French-Canadians have preserved a certain character of politeness and urbanity, which strangers are not slow in admitting, they owe it in a great measure to the work of Marguerite Bourgeoys."

## CHAPTER IX

### BECOMES BISHOP OF QUEBEC

THE creation of a bishopric in Canada was becoming necessary, and all was ready for the erection of a separate see. Mgr. de Laval had thought of everything: the two seminaries with the resources indispensable for their maintenance, cathedral, parishes or missions regularly established, institutions of education or charity, numerous schools, a zealous and devoted clergy, respected both by the government of the colony and by that of the mother country. What more could be desired? He had many struggles to endure in order to obtain this creation, but patience and perseverance never failed him, and like the drop of water which, falling incessantly upon the pavement, finally wears away the stone, his reasonable and ever repeated demands eventually overcame the obstinacy of the king. Not, however, until 1674 was he definitely appointed Bishop of Quebec, and could enjoy without opposition a title which had belonged to him so long in reality; this was, as it were, the final consecration of his life and the crowning of his efforts. Upon the news of this the joy of the people and of the clergy rose to its height: the future of the Canadian Church was assured, and she would in-

scribe in her annals a name dear to all and soon to be glorified.

Shall we, then, suppose that this pontiff was indeed ambitious, who, coming in early youth to wield his pastoral crozier upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, did not fear the responsibility of so lofty a task? The assumption would be quite unjustified. Rather let us think of him as meditating on this text of St. Paul: "*Oportet episcopum irreprehensibilem esse*," the bishop must be irreproachable in his house, his relations, his speech and even his silence. His past career guaranteed his possession of that admixture of strength and gentleness, of authority and condescension in which lies the great art of governing men. Moreover, one thing reassured him, his knowledge that the crown of a bishop is often a crown of thorns. When the apostle St. Paul outlined for his disciple the main features of the episcopal character, he spoke not alone for the immediate successors of the apostles, but for all those who in the succession of ages should be honoured by the same dignity. No doubt the difficulties would be often less, persecution might even cease entirely, but trial would continue always, because it is the condition of the Church as well as that of individuals. The prelate himself explains to us the very serious reasons which led him to insist on obtaining the title of Bishop of Quebec. He writes in these terms to the Propaganda: "I have never till now sought the episcopacy, and I have accepted

it in spite of myself, convinced of my weakness. But, having borne its burden, I shall consider it a boon to be relieved of it, though I do not refuse to sacrifice myself for the Church of Jesus Christ and for the welfare of souls. I have, however, learned by long experience how unguarded is the position of an apostolic vicar against those who are entrusted with political affairs, I mean the officers of the court, perpetual rivals and despisers of the ecclesiastical power, who have nothing more common to object than that the authority of the apostolic vicar is doubtful and should be restricted within certain limits. This is why, after having maturely considered everything, I have resolved to resign this function and to return no more to New France unless a see be erected there, and unless I be provided and furnished with bulls constituting me its occupant. Such is the purpose of my journey to France and the object of my desires."

As early as the year 1662, at the time of his first journey to France, the Bishop of Petræa had obtained from Louis XIV the assurance that this prince would petition the sovereign pontiff for the erection of the see of Quebec; moreover, the monarch had at the same time assigned to the future bishopric the revenues of the abbey of Maubec. The king kept his word, for on June 28th, 1664, he addressed to the common Father of the faithful the following letter: "The choice made by your Holiness of the person of the Sieur de Laval, Bishop of

Petræa, to go in the capacity of apostolic vicar to exercise episcopal functions in Canada has been attended by many advantages to this growing Church. We have reason to expect still greater results if it please your Holiness to permit him to continue there the same functions in the capacity of bishop of the place, by establishing for this purpose an episcopal see in Quebec ; and we hope that your Holiness will be the more inclined to this since we have already provided for the maintenance of the bishop and his canons by consenting to the perpetual union of the abbey of Maubec with the future bishopric. This is why we beg you to grant to the Bishop of Petræa the title of Bishop of Quebec upon our nomination and prayer, with power to exercise in this capacity the episcopal functions in all Canada."

However, the appointment was not consummated; the Propaganda, indeed, decided in a rescript of December 15th, 1666, that it was necessary to make of Quebec a see, whose occupant should be appointed by the king; the Consistorial Congregation of Rome promulgated a new decree with the same purpose on October 9th, 1670, and yet Mgr. de Laval still remained Bishop of Petræa. This was because the eternal question of jurisdiction as between the civil and religious powers, the question which did so much harm to Catholicism in France, in England, in Italy, and especially in Germany, was again being revived. The King of France

demanded that the new diocese should be dependent upon the Metropolitan of Rouen, while the pontifical government, of which its providential rôle requires always a breadth of view, and, so to speak, a foreknowledge of events impossible to any nation, desired the new diocese to be an immediate dependency of the Holy See. "We must confess here," says the Abbé Ferland, "that the sight of the sovereign pontiff reached much farther into the future than that of the great king. Louis XIV was concerned with the kingdom of France; Clement X thought of the interests of the whole Catholic world. The little French colony was growing; separated from the mother country by the ocean, it might be wrested from France by England, which was already so powerful in America; what, then, would become of the Church of Quebec if it had been wont to lean upon that of Rouen and to depend upon it? It was better to establish at once immediate relations between the Bishop of Quebec and the supreme head of the Catholic Church; it was better to establish bonds which could be broken neither by time nor force, and Quebec might thus become one day the metropolis of the dioceses which should spring from its bosom."

The opposition to the views of Mgr. de Laval did not come, however, so much from the king as from Mgr. de Harlay, Archbishop of Rouen, who had never consented to the detachment of Canada from his jurisdiction. Events turned out fortunately

for the apostolic vicar, since the Archbishop of Rouen was called to the important see of Paris on the death of the Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe de Beaumont, in the very year in which Mgr. de Laval embarked for France, accompanied by his grand vicar, M. de Lauson-Charny. The task now became much easier, and Laval had no difficulty in inducing the king to urge the erection of the diocese at Quebec, and to abandon his claims to making the new diocese dependent on the archbishopric of Rouen.

Before leaving Canada the Bishop of Quebec had entrusted the administration of the apostolic vicariate to M. de Bernières, and, in case of the latter's death, to M. Dudouyt. He embarked in the autumn of 1671.

To the keen regret of the population of Ville-Marie, which owed him so much, M. de Queylus, Abbé de Loc-Dieu and superior of the Seminary of Montreal for the last three years, went to France at the same time as his ecclesiastical superior. "M. l'abbé de Queylus," wrote Commissioner Talon to the Minister Colbert, "is making an urgent application for the settlement and increase of the colony of Montreal. He carries his zeal farther, for he is going to take charge of the Indian children who fall into the hands of the Iroquois, in order to have them educated, the boys in his seminary, and the girls by persons of the same sex, who form at Montreal a sort of congregation to teach young girls the

petty handicrafts, in addition to reading and writing." M. de Queylus had used his great fortune in all sorts of good works in the colony, but he was not the only Sulpician whose hand was always ready and willing. Before dying, M. Olier had begged his successors to continue the work at Ville-Marie, "because," said he, "it is the will of God," and the priests of St. Sulpice received this injunction as one of the most sacred codicils of the will of their Father. However onerous the continuation of this plan was for the company, the latter sacrificed to it without hesitation its resources, its efforts and its members with the most complete abnegation.[1] Thus when, on March 9th, 1663, the Company of Montreal believed itself no longer capable of meeting its obligations, and begged St. Sulpice to take them up, the seminary subordinated all considerations of self-interest and human prudence to this view. To this MM. de Bretonvilliers, de Queylus and du Bois devoted their fortunes, and to this work of the conversion of the savages priests distinguished in birth and riches gave up their whole lives and property. M. de Belmont discharged the hundred and twenty thousand francs of debts of the Company of Montreal, gave as much more to the establishment of divers works, and left more than two hundred thousand francs

[1] *Vie de M. Olier,* par De Lanjuère. As I wrote this life some years ago with the collaboration of a gentleman whom death has taken from us, I believe myself entitled to reproduce here and there in the present life of Mgr. de Laval extracts from this book.

of his patrimony to support them after his death. How many others did likewise! During more than fifty years Paris sent to this mission only priests able to pay their board, that they might have the right to share in this evangelization. This disinterestedness, unheard of in the history of the most unselfish congregations, saved, sustained and finally developed this settlement, to which Roman Catholics point to-day with pride. The Seminary of Paris contributed to it a sum equal to twice the value of the island, and during the first sixty years more than nine hundred thousand francs, as one may see by the archives of the Department of Marine at Paris. These sums to-day would represent a large fortune.

Finally the prayers of Mgr. de Laval were heard; Pope Clement X signed on October 1st, 1674, the bulls establishing the diocese of Quebec, which was to extend over all the French possessions in North America. The sovereign pontiff incorporated with the new bishopric for its maintenance the abbey of Maubec, given by the King of France already in 1662, and in exchange for the renunciation by this prince of his right of presentation to the abbey of Maubec, granted him the right of nomination to the bishopric of Quebec. To his first gift the king had added a second, that of the abbey of Lestrées. Situated in Normandy and in the archdeaconry of Evreux, this abbey was one of the oldest of the order of Citeaux.

Up to this time the venerable bishop had had many difficulties to surmount; he was about to meet some of another sort, those of the administration of vast properties. The abbey of Maubec, occupied by monks of the order of St. Benedict, was situated in one of the fairest provinces of France, Le Perry, and was dependent upon the archdiocese of Bourges. Famous vineyards, verdant meadows, well cultivated fields, rich farms, forests full of game and ponds full of fish made this abbey an admirable domain; unfortunately, the expenses of maintaining or repairing the buildings, the dues payable to the government, the allowances secured to the monks, and above all, the waste and theft which must necessarily victimize proprietors separated from their tenants by the whole breadth of an ocean, must absorb a great part of the revenues. Letters of the steward of this property to the Bishop of Quebec are instructive in this matter. "M. Porcheron is still the same," writes the steward, M. Matberon, "and bears me a grudge because I desire to safeguard your interests. I am incessantly carrying on the work of needful repairs in all the places dependent on Maubec, chiefly those necessary to the ponds, in order that M. Porcheron may have no damages against you. This is much against his will, for he is constantly seeking an excuse for litigation. He swears that he does not want your farm any longer, but as for me, I believe that this is not his feeling, and that he would wish the farm

out of the question, for he is too fond of hunting and his pleasure to quit it. . . . He does his utmost to remove me from your service, insinuating many things against me which are not true ; but this does not lessen my zeal in serving you."

Mgr. de Laval, who did not hesitate at any exertion when it was a question of the interests of his Church, did not fail to go and visit his two abbeys. He set out, happy in the prospect of being able to admire these magnificent properties whose rich revenues would permit him to do so much good in his diocese ; but he was painfully affected at the sight of the buildings in ruins, sad relics of the wars of religion. In order to free himself as much as possible from cares which would have encroached too much upon his precious time and his pastoral duties, Laval caused a manager to be appointed by the Royal Council for the abbey of Lestrées, and rented it for a fixed sum to M. Berthelot. He also made with the latter a very advantageous transaction by exchanging with him the Island of Orleans for the Ile Jésus ; M. Berthelot was to give him besides a sum of twenty-five thousand francs, which was employed in building the seminary. Later the king made the Island of Orleans a county. It became the county of St. Lawrence.

Mgr. de Laval was too well endowed with qualities of the heart, as well as with those of the mind, not to have preserved a deep affection for his

family; he did not fail to go and see them twice during his stay in France. Unhappily, his brother, Jean-Louis, to whom he had yielded all his rights as eldest son, and his titles to the hereditary lordship of Montigny and Montbeaudry, caused only grief to his family and to his wife, Françoise de Chevestre. As lavish as he was violent and hot-tempered, he reduced by his excesses his numerous family (for he had had ten children), to such poverty that the Bishop of Quebec had to come to his aid; besides the assistance which he sent them, the prelate bought him a house. He extended his protection also to his nephews, and his brother, Henri de Laval, wrote to him about them as follows: "The eldest is developing a little; he is in the army with the king, and his father has given him a good start. I have obtained from my petitions from Paris a place as monk in the Congregation of the Cross for his second son, whom I shall try to have reared in the knowledge and fear of God. I believe that the youngest, who has been sent to you, will have come to the right place; he is of good promise. My brother desires greatly that you may have the goodness to give Fanchon the advantage of an education before sending him back. It is a great charity to these poor children to give them a little training. You will be a father to them in this matter." One never applied in vain to the heart of the good bishop. Two of his nephews owed him their education at the seminary of Quebec; one of

them, Fanchon (Charles-François-Guy), after a brilliant course in theology at Paris, became vicar-general to the Swan of Cambrai, the illustrious Fénelon, and was later raised to the bishopric of Ypres.

Meanwhile, four years had elapsed since Mgr. de Laval had left the soil of Canada, and he did not cease to receive letters which begged him respectfully to return to his diocese. "Nothing is lacking to animate us but the presence of our lord bishop," wrote, one day, Father Dablon. "His absence keeps this country, as it were, in mourning, and makes us languish in the too long separation from a person so necessary to these growing churches. He was the soul of them, and the zeal which he showed on every occasion for the welfare of our Indians drew upon us favours of Heaven most powerful for the success of our missions; and since, however distant he be in the body, his heart is ever with us, we experience the effects of it in the continuity of the blessings with which God favours the labours of our missionaries." Accordingly, he did not lose a moment after receiving the decrees appointing him Bishop of Quebec. On May 19th, 1675, he renewed the union of his seminary with that of the Foreign Missions in Paris. "This union," says the Abbé Ferland, "a union which he had effected for the first time in 1665 as apostolic bishop of New France, was of great importance to his diocese. He found, indeed, in this institution,

good recruits, who were sent to him when needed, and faithful correspondents, whom he could address with confidence, and who had sufficient influence at court to gain a hearing for their representations in favour of the Church in Canada." On May 29th of the same year he set sail for Canada; he was accompanied by a priest, a native of the city of Orleans, M. Glandelet, who was one of the most distinguished priests of the seminary.

To understand with what joy he was received by his parishioners on his arrival, it is enough to read what his brother, Henri de Laval, wrote to him the following year: "I cannot express to you the satisfaction and inward joy which I have received in my soul on reading a report sent from Canada of the manner in which your clergy and all your people have received you, and that our Lord inspires them all with just and true sentiments to recognize you as their father and pastor. They testify to having received through your beloved person as it were a new life. I ask our Lord every day at His holy altars to preserve you some years more for the sanctification of these poor people and our own."

## CHAPTER X

### FRONTENAC IS APPOINTED GOVERNOR

DURING the early days of the absence of its first pastor, the Church of Canada had enjoyed only days of prosperity; skilfully directed by MM. de Bernières and de Dudouyt, who scrupulously followed the line of conduct laid down for them by Mgr. de Laval before his departure, it was pursuing its destiny peacefully. But this calm, forerunner of the storm, could not last; it was the destiny of the Church, as it had been the lot of nations, to be tossed incessantly by the violent winds of trial and persecution. The difficulties which arose soon reached the acute stage, and all the firmness and tact of the Bishop of Quebec were needed to meet them. The departure of Laval for France in the autumn of 1671 had been closely followed by that of Governor de Courcelles and that of Commissioner Talon. The latter was not replaced until three years later, so that the new governor, Count de Frontenac, who arrived in the autumn of 1672, had no one at his side in the Sovereign Council to oppose his views. This was allowing too free play to the natural despotism of his character. Louis de Buade, Count de Palluau and de Frontenac, lieutenant-general of the king's

armies, had previously served in Holland under the illustrious Maurice, Prince of Orange, then in France, Italy and Germany, and his merit had gained for him the reputation of a great captain. The illustrious Turenne entrusted to him the command of the reinforcements sent to Candia when that island was besieged by the Turks. He had a keen mind, trained by serious study; haughty towards the powerful of this world, he was affable to ordinary people, and thus made for himself numerous enemies, while remaining very popular. Father Charlevoix has drawn an excellent portrait of him: "His heart was greater than his birth, his wit lively, penetrating, sound, fertile and highly cultivated: but he was biased by the most unjust prejudices, and capable of carrying them very far. He wished to rule alone, and there was nothing he would not do to remove those whom he was afraid of finding in his way. His worth and ability were equal; no one knew better how to assume over the people whom he governed and with whom he had to deal, that ascendency so necessary to keep them in the paths of duty and respect. He won when he wished it the friendship of the French and their allies, and never has general treated his enemies with more dignity and nobility. His views for the aggrandizement of the colony were large and true, but his prejudices sometimes prevented the execution of plans which depended on him. . . . He justified, in one of the most critical circumstances

of his life, the opinion that his ambition and the desire of preserving his authority had more power over him than his zeal for the public good. The fact is that there is no virtue which does not belie itself when one has allowed a dominant passion to gain the upper hand. The Count de Frontenac might have been a great prince if Heaven had placed him on the throne, but he had dangerous faults for a subject who is not well persuaded that his glory consists in sacrificing everything to the service of his sovereign and the public utility."

It was under the administration of Frontenac that the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, which had accepted in 1663 a portion of the obligations and privileges of the Company of the Cent.-Associés, renounced its rights over New France. Immediately after his arrival he began the construction of Fort Cataraqui; if we are to believe some historians, motives of personal interest guided him in the execution of this enterprise; he thought only, it seems, of founding considerable posts for the fur trade, favouring those traders who would consent to give him a share in their profits. The work was urged on with energy. La Salle obtained from the king, thanks to the support of Frontenac, letters patent of nobility, together with the ownership and jurisdiction of the new fort.

With the approval of the governor, Commissioner Talon's plan of having the course of the Mississippi explored was executed by two bold men: Louis

Joliet, citizen of Quebec, already known for previous voyages and for his deep knowledge of the Indian tongues, and the devoted missionary, Father Marquette. Without other provisions than Indian corn and dried meat they set out in two bark canoes from Michilimackinac on May 17th, 1673; only five Frenchmen accompanied them. They reached the Mississippi, after having passed the Baie des Puants and the rivers Outagami and Wisconsin, and ascended the stream for more than sixty leagues. They were cordially received by the tribe of the Illinois, which was encamped not far from the river, and Father Marquette promised to return and visit them. The two travellers reached the Arkansas River and learned that the sea was not far distant, but fearing they might fall into the hands of hostile Spaniards, they decided to retrace their steps, and reached the Baie des Puants about the end of September.

The following year Father Marquette wished to keep his promise given to the Illinois. His health is weakened by the trials of a long mission, but what matters this to him? There are souls to save. He preaches the truths of religion to the poor savages gathered in attentive silence; but his strength diminishes, and he regretfully resumes the road to Michilimackinac. He did not have time to reach it, but died near the mouth of a river which long bore his name. His two comrades dug a grave for the remains of the missionary and raised a cross

near the tomb. Two years later these sacred bones were transferred with the greatest respect to St. Ignace de Michilimackinac by the savage tribe of the Kiskakons, whom Father Marquette had christianized.

With such an adventurous character as he possessed, Cavelier de la Salle could not learn of the exploration of the course of the Upper Mississippi without burning with the desire to complete the discovery and to descend the river to its mouth. Robert René Cavelier de la Salle was born at Rouen about the year 1644. He belonged to an excellent family, and was well educated. From his earliest years he was passionately fond of stories of travel, and the older he grew the more cramped he felt in the civilization of Europe; like the mettled mustang of the vast prairies of America, he longed for the immensity of unknown plains, for the imposing majesty of forests which the foot of man had not yet trod. Maturity and reason gave a more definite aim to these aspirations; at the age of twenty-four he came to New France to try his fortune. He entered into relations with different Indian tribes, and the extent of his commerce led him to establish a trading-post opposite the Sault St. Louis. This site, as we shall see, received soon after the name of Lachine. Though settled at this spot, La Salle did not cease to meditate on the plan fixed in his brain of discovering a passage to China and the Indies, and upon learning the news

that MM. Dollier de Casson and Gallinée were going to christianize the wild tribes of south-western Canada, he hastened to rejoin the two devoted missionaries. They set out in the summer of 1669, with twenty-two Frenchmen. Arriving at Niagara, La Salle suddenly changed his mind, and abandoned his travelling companions, under the pretext of illness. No more was needed for the Frenchman, *né malin*,[1] to fix upon the seigniory of the future discoverer of the mouth of the Mississippi the name of Lachine; M. Dollier de Casson is suspected of being the author of this gentle irony.

Eight years later the explorations of Joliet and Father Marquette revived his instincts as a discoverer; he betook himself to France in 1677 and easily obtained authority to pursue, at his own expense, the discovery already begun. Back in Canada the following year, La Salle thoroughly prepared for this expedition, accumulating provisions at Fort Niagara, and visiting the Indian tribes. In 1679, accompanied by the Chevalier de Tonti, he set out at the head of a small troop, and passed through Michilimackinac, then through the Baie des Puants. From there he reached the Miami River, where he erected a small fort, ascended the Illinois, and, reaching a camp of the Illinois Indians, made an alliance with this tribe, obtaining from them permission to erect upon their soil a fort which he called Crèvecœur. He left M. de Tonti there

[1] Allusion to a verse of the poet Boileau.

with a few men and two Récollet missionaries, Fathers de la Ribourde and Membré, and set out again with all haste for Fort Frontenac, for he was very anxious regarding the condition of his own affairs. He had reason to be. "His creditors," says the Abbé Ferland, "had had his goods seized after his departure from Fort Frontenac; his brigantine *Le Griffon* had been lost, with furs valued at thirty thousand francs; his employees had appropriated his goods; a ship which was bringing him from France a cargo valued at twenty-two thousand francs had been wrecked on the Islands of St. Pierre; some canoes laden with merchandise had been dashed to pieces on the journey between Montreal and Frontenac; the men whom he had brought from France had fled to New York, taking a portion of his goods, and already a conspiracy was on foot to disaffect the Canadians in his service. In one word, according to him, the whole of Canada had conspired against his enterprise, and the Count de Frontenac was the only one who consented to support him in the midst of his misfortunes." His remarkable energy and activity remedied this host of evils, and he set out again for Fort Crèvecœur. To cap the climax of his misfortunes, he found it abandoned; being attacked by the Iroquois, whom the English had aroused against them, Tonti and his comrades had been forced to hasty flight. De la Salle found them again at Michilimackinac, but he had the sorrow

of learning of the loss of Father de la Ribourde, whom the Illinois had massacred. Tonti and his companions, in their flight, had been obliged to abandon an unsafe canoe, which had carried them half-way, and to continue their journey on foot. Such a series of misfortunes would have discouraged any other than La Salle; on the contrary, he made Tonti and Father Membré retrace their steps. Arriving with them at the Miami fort, he reinforced his little troop by twenty-three Frenchmen and eighteen Indians, and reached Fort Crèvecœur. On February 6th, 1682, he reached the mouth of the Illinois, and then descended the Mississippi. Towards the end of this same month the bold explorers stopped at the juncture of the Ohio with the Father of Rivers, and erected there Fort Prudhomme. On what is Fame dependent? A poor and unknown man, a modest collaborator with La Salle, had the honour of giving his name to this little fort because he had been lost in the neighbourhood and had reached camp nine days later.

Providence was finally about to reward so much bravery and perseverance. The sailor who from the yards of Christopher Columbus's caravel, uttered the triumphant cry of "Land! land!" did not cause more joy to the illustrious Genoese navigator than La Salle received from the sight of the sea so ardently sought. On April 9th La Salle and his comrades could at length admire the immense blue

sheet of the Gulf of Mexico. Like Christopher Columbus, who made it his first duty on touching the soil of the New World to fall upon his knees to return thanks to Heaven, La Salle's first business was to raise a cross upon the shore. Father Membré intoned the Te Deum. They then raised the arms of the King of France, in whose name La Salle took possession of the Mississippi, and of all the territories watered by the tributaries of the great river.

Their trials were not over: the risks to be run in traversing so many regions inhabited by barbarians were as great and as numerous after success as before. La Salle was, moreover, delayed for forty days by a serious illness, but God in His goodness did not wish to deprive the valiant discoverers of the fruits of their efforts, and all arrived safe and sound at the place whence they had started. After having passed a year in establishing trading-posts among the Illinois, La Salle appointed M. de Tonti his representative for the time being, and betook himself to France with the intention of giving an account of his journey to the most Christian monarch. His enemies had already forestalled him at the court; we have to seek the real cause of this hatred in the jealousy of traders who feared to find in the future colonists of the western and southern country competitors in their traffic. But far from listening to them, the son of Colbert, Seignelay, then minister of commerce, highly praised the

valiant explorer, and sent, in 1684, four ships with two hundred and eighty colonists to people Louisiana, this new gem in the crown of France. But La Salle has not yet finally drained the cup of disappointment, for few men have been so overwhelmed as he by the persistence of ill-fortune. It was not enough that the leader of the expedition should be incapable, the colonists must needs be of a continual evil character, the soldiers undisciplined, the workmen unskilful, the pilot ignorant. They pass the mouth of the Mississippi, near which they should have disembarked, and arrive in Texas; the commander refuses to send the ship about, and La Salle makes up his mind to land where they are. Through the neglect of the pilot, the vessel which was carrying the provisions is cast ashore, then a gale arises which swallows up the tools, the merchandise and the ammunition. The Indians, like birds of prey, hasten up to pillage, and massacre two volunteers. The colonists in exasperation revolt, and stupidly blame La Salle. He saves them, nevertheless, by his energy, and makes them raise a fort with the wreck of the ships. They pass two years there in a famine of everything; twice La Salle tries to find, at the cost of a thousand sufferings, a way of rescue, and twice he fails. Finally, when there remain no more than thirty men, he chooses the ten most resolute, and tries to reach Canada on foot. He did not reach it: on May 20th, 1687, he was murdered by one of his comrades.

"Such was the end of this daring adventurer," says Bancroft.[1] "For force of will, and vast conceptions; for various knowledge and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity that resigned itself to the will of Heaven and yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope, he had no superior among his countrymen. . . . He will be remembered in the great central valley of the West."

It was with deep feelings of joy that Mgr. de Laval, still in France at this period, had read the detailed report of the voyage of discovery made by Joliet and Father Marquette. But the news which he received from Canada was not always so comforting; he felt especially deeply the loss of two great benefactresses of Canada, Madame de la Peltrie and Mother Incarnation. The former had used her entire fortune in founding the Convent of the Ursulines at Quebec. Heaven had lavished its gifts upon her; endowed with brilliant qualities, and adding riches to beauty, she was happy in possessing these advantages only because they allowed her to offer them to the Most High, who had given them to her. She devoted herself to the Christian education of young girls, and passed in Canada the last thirty-two years of her life. The Abbé Casgrain draws the following portrait of her: "Her whole person presented a type of attractiveness and gentleness. Her face, a beautiful oval, was remark-

[1] *History of the United States,* Vol. II., page 821.

able for the harmony of its lines and the perfection of its contour. A slightly aquiline nose, a clear cut and always smiling mouth, a limpid look veiled by long lashes which the habit of meditation kept half lowered, stamped her features with an exquisite sweetness. Though her frail and delicate figure did not exceed medium height, and though everything about her breathed modesty and humility, her gait was nevertheless full of dignity and nobility; one recognized, in seeing her, the descendant of those great and powerful lords, of those perfect knights whose valiant swords had sustained throne and altar. Through the most charming simplicity there were ever manifest the grand manner of the seventeenth century and that perfect distinction which is traditional among the families of France. But this majestic *ensemble* was tempered by an air of introspection and unction which gave her conversation an infinite charm, and it gained her the esteem and affection of all those who had had the good fortune to know her." She died on November 18th, 1671, only a few days after the departure for France of the apostolic vicar.

Her pious friend, Mother Mary of the Incarnation, first Mother Superior of the Ursulines of Quebec, soon followed her to the tomb. She expired on April 30th, 1672. In her numerous writings on the beginnings of the colony, the modesty of Mother Mary of the Incarnation has kept us in the dark concerning several important services ren-

The Ursuline Convent, Quebec

Drawn on the spot by Richard Short, 1761

dered by her to New France, and many touching details of her life would not have reached us if her companion, Madame de la Peltrie, had not made them known to us. In Mother Incarnation, who merited the glorious title of the Theresa of New France, were found all the Christian virtues, but more particularly piety, patience and confidence in Providence. God was ever present and visible in her heart, acting everywhere and in everything. We see, among many other instances that might be quoted, a fine example of her enthusiasm for Heaven when, cast out of her convent in the heart of the winter by a conflagration which consumed everything, she knelt upon the snow with her Sisters, and thanked God for not having taken from them, together with their properties, their lives, which might be useful to others.

If Madame de la Peltrie and Mother Mary of the Incarnation occupy a large place in the history of Canada, it is because the institution of the Ursulines, which they founded and directed at Quebec, exercised the happiest influence on the formation of the Christian families in our country. "It was," says the Abbé Ferland, "an inestimable advantage for the country to receive from the schools maintained by the nuns, mothers of families reared in piety, familiar with their religious duties, and capable of training the hearts and minds of the new generation." It was thanks to the efforts of Madame de la Peltrie, and to the lessons of Mother Incar-

nation and her first co-workers, that those patriarchal families whose type still persists in our time, were formed in the early days of the colony. The same services were rendered by Sister Bourgeoys to the government of Montreal.

## CHAPTER XI

### A TROUBLED ADMINISTRATION

A THOROUGH study of history and the analysis of the causes and effects of great historical events prove to us that frequently men endowed with the noblest qualities have rendered only slight services to their country, because, blinded by the consciousness of their own worth, and the certainty which they have of desiring to work only for the good of their country, they have disdained too much the advice of wise counsellors. With eyes fixed upon their established purpose, they trample under foot every obstacle; and every man who differs from their opinion is but a traitor or an imbecile: hence their lack of moderation, tact and prudence, and their excess of obstinacy and violence. To select one example among a thousand, what marvellous results would have been attained by an *entente cordiale* between two men like Dupleix and La Bourdonnais.

Count de Frontenac was certainly a great man: he made Canada prosperous in peace, glorious in war, but he made also the great mistake of aiming at absolutism, and of allowing himself to be guided throughout his administration by unjustified prejudices against the Jesuits and the religious orders.

Only the Sovereign Council, the bishop and the royal commissioner could have opposed his omnipotence. Now the office of commissioner remained vacant for three years, the bishop stayed in France till 1675, and his grand vicar, who was to represent him in the highest assembly of the colony, was never invited to take his seat there. As to the council, the governor took care to constitute it of men who were entirely devoted to him, and he thus made himself the arbiter of justice. The council, of which Peuvret de Mesnu was secretary, was at this time composed of MM. Le Gardeur de Tilly, Damours, de la Tesserie, Dupont, de Mouchy, and a substitute for the attorney-general.

The first difficulty which Frontenac met was brought about by a cause rather insignificant in itself, but rendered so dangerous by the obstinacy of those who were concerned in it that it caused a deep commotion throughout the whole country. Thus a foreign body, sometimes a wretched little splinter buried in the flesh, may, if we allow the wound to be poisoned, produce the greatest disorders in the human system. We cannot read without admiration of the acts of bravery and daring frequently accomplished by the *coureurs de bois*. We experience a sentiment of pride when we glance through the accounts which depict for us the endurance and physical vigour with which these athletes became endowed by dint of continual struggles with man and beast and with the very

elements in a climate that was as glacial in winter as it was torrid in summer. We are happy to think that these brave and strong men belong to our race. But in the time of Frontenac the ecclesiastical and civil authorities were averse to seeing the colony lose thus the most vigorous part of its population. While admitting that the *coureurs de bois* became stout fellows in consequence of their hard experience, just as the fishermen of the French shore now become robust sailors after a few seasons of fishing on the Newfoundland Banks, the parallel is not complete, because the latter remain throughout their lives a valuable reserve for the French fleets, while the former were in great part lost to the colony, at a period when safety lay in numbers. If they escaped the manifold dangers which they ran every day in dealing with the savages in the heart of the forest, if they disdained to link themselves by the bond of marriage to a squaw and to settle among the redskins, the *coureurs de bois* were none the less drones among their compatriots; they did not make up their minds to establish themselves in places where they might have become excellent farmers, until through age and infirmity they were rather a burden than a support to others.

To counteract this scourge the king published in 1673, a decree which, under penalty of death, forbade Frenchmen to remain more than twenty-four hours in the woods without permission from the

governor. Some Montreal officers, engaged in trade, violated this prohibition; the Count de Frontenac at once sent M. Bizard, lieutenant of his guards, with an order to arrest them. The governor of Montreal, M. Perrot, who connived with them, publicly insulted the officer entrusted with the orders of the governor-general. Indignant at such insolence, M. de Frontenac had M. Perrot arrested at once, imprisoned in the Château St. Louis and judged by the Sovereign Council. Connected with M. Perrot by the bonds of friendship, the Abbé de Fénelon profited by the occasion to allude, in the sermon which he delivered in the parochial church of Montreal on Easter Sunday, to the excessive labour which M. de Frontenac had exacted from the inhabitants of Ville-Marie for the erection of Fort Cataraqui. According to La Salle, who heard the sermon, the Abbé de Fénelon said: "He who is invested with authority should not disturb the people who depend on him; on the contrary, it is his duty to consider them as his children and to treat them as would a father. . . . He must not disturb the commerce of the country by ill-treating those who do not give him a share of the profits they may make in it; he must content himself with gaining by honest means; he must not trample on the people, nor vex them by excessive demands which serve his interests alone. He must not have favourites who praise him on all occasions, or oppress, under far-fetched pretexts, persons who serve the same

princes, when they oppose his enterprises. . . . He has respect for priests and ministers of the Church."

Count de Frontenac felt himself directly aimed at; he was the more inclined to anger, since, the year before, he had had reasons for complaint of the sermon of a Jesuit Father. Let us allow the governor himself to relate this incident: "I had need," he wrote to Colbert, "to remember your orders on the occasion of a sermon preached by a Jesuit Father this winter (1672) purposely and without need, at which he had a week before invited everybody to be present. He gave expression in this sermon to seditious proposals against the authority of the king, which scandalized many, by dilating upon the restrictions made by the bishop of the traffic in brandy. . . . I was several times tempted to leave the church and to interrupt the sermon; but I eventually contented myself, after it was over, with seeking out the grand vicar and the superior of the Jesuits and telling them that I was much surprised at what I had just heard, and that I asked justice of them. . . . They greatly blamed the preacher, whose words they disavowed, attributing them, according to their custom, to an excess of zeal, and offered me many excuses, with which I condescended to seem satisfied, telling them, nevertheless, that I would not accept such again, and that, if the occasion ever arose, I would put the preacher where he would learn how he ought to speak. . . ."

On the news of the words which were pronounced in the pulpit at Ville-Marie, M. de Frontenac summoned M. de Fénelon to send him a verified copy of his sermon, and on the refusal of the abbé, he cited him before the council. M. de Fénelon appeared, but objected to the jurisdiction of the court, declaring that he owed an account of his actions to the ecclesiastical authority alone. Now the official authority of the diocese was vested in the worthy M. de Bernières, the representative of Mgr. de Laval. The latter is summoned in his turn before the council, where the Count de Frontenac, who will not recognize either the authority of this official or that of the apostolic vicar, objects to M. de Bernières occupying the seat of the absent Bishop of Petræa. In order not to compromise his right thus contested, M. de Bernières replies to the questions of the council "standing and without taking any seat." The trial thus begun dragged along till autumn, to be then referred to the court of France. The superior of St. Sulpice, M. de Bretonvilliers, who had succeeded the venerable M. Olier, did not approve of the conduct of the Abbé Fénelon, for he wrote later to the Sulpicians of Montreal: "I exhort you to profit by the example of M. de Fénelon. Concerning himself too much with secular affairs and with what did not affect him, he has ruined his own cause and compromised the friends whom he wished to serve. In matters of this sort it is always best to remain neutral."

Frontenac was about to be blamed in his turn. The governor had obtained from the council a a decree ordering the king's attorney to be present at the rendering of accounts by the purveyor of the Quebec Seminary, and another decree of March 4th, 1675, declaring that not only, as had been customary since 1668, the judges should have precedence over the churchwardens in public ceremonies, but also that the latter should follow all the officers of justice; at Quebec these officers should have their bench immediately behind that of the council, and in the rest of the country, behind that of the local governors and the seigneurs. This latter decree was posted everywhere. A missionary, M. Thomas Morel, was accused of having prevented its publication at Lévis, and was arrested at once and imprisoned in the Château St. Louis with the clerk of the ecclesiastical court, Romain Becquet, who had refused to deliver to the council the registers of this ecclesiastical tribune. He was kept there a month. MM. de Bernières and Dudouyt protested, declaring that M. Morel was amenable only to the diocesan authority. We see in such an incident some of the reasons which induced Laval to insist upon the immediate constitution of a regular diocese. Summoned to produce forthwith the authority for their pretended ecclesiastical jurisdiction, "they produced a copy of the royal declaration, dated March 27th, 1659, based on the bulls of the Bishop of Petræa, and other docu-

ments, establishing incontestably the legal authority of the apostolic vicar." The council had to yield; it restored his freedom to M. Morel, and postponed until later its decision as to the validity of the claims of the ecclesiastical court.

This was a check to the ambitions of the Count de Frontenac. The following letter from Louis XIV dealt a still more cruel blow to his absolutism: "In order to punish M. Perrot for having resisted your authority," the prince wrote to him, "I have had him put into the Bastille for some time; so that when he returns to your country, not only will this punishment render him more circumspect in his duty, but it will serve as an example to restrain others. But if I must inform you of my sentiments, after having thus satisfied my authority which was violated in your person, I will tell you that without absolute need you ought not to have these orders executed throughout the extent of a local jurisdiction like Montreal without communicating with its governor. . . . I have blamed the action of the Abbé de Fénelon, and have commanded him to return no more to Canada; but I must tell you that it was difficult to enter a criminal procedure against him, or to compel the priests of St. Sulpice to bear witness against him. He should have been delivered over to his bishop or to the grand vicar to suffer the ecclesiastical penalties, or should have been arrested and sent back to France by the first ship. I have been

told besides," added the monarch, "that you would not permit ecclesiastics and others to attend to their missions and other duties, or even leave their residence without a passport from Montreal to Quebec; that you often summoned them for very slight causes; that you intercepted their letters and did not allow them liberty to write. If the whole or part of these things be true, you must mend your ways." On his part Colbert enjoined upon the governor a little more calmness and gentleness. "His Majesty," wrote the minister, "has ordered me to explain to you, privately, that it is absolutely necessary for the good of your service to moderate your conduct, and not to single out with too great severity faults committed either against his service or against the respect due to your person or character." Colbert rightly felt that fault-finding letters were not sufficient to keep within bounds a temperament as fiery as that of the governor of Canada; on the other hand, a man of Frontenac's worth was too valuable to the colony to think of dispensing with his services. The wisest course was to renew the Sovereign Council, and in order to withdraw its members from the too preponderant influence of the governor, to put their nomination in the hands of the king.

By the royal edict of June 5th, 1675, the council was reconstituted. It was composed of seven members appointed by the Crown; the governor-general occupied the first place, the bishop, or in his ab-

sence, the grand vicar, the second, and the commissioner the third. As the latter presided in the absence of the governor, and as the king was anxious that "he should have the same functions and the same privileges as the first presidents of the courts of France," as moreover the honour devolved upon him of collecting the opinions or votes and of pronouncing the decrees, it was in reality the commissioner who might be considered as actual president. It is, therefore, easy to understand the continual disputes which arose upon the question of the title of President of the Council between Frontenac and the Commissioner Jacques Duchesneau. The latter, at first "*Président des trésoriers de la généralité de Tours*," had been appointed *intendant* of New France by a commission which bears the same date as the royal edict reviving the Sovereign Council. While thinking of the material good of the colony, the Most Christian King took care not to neglect its spiritual interests; he undertook to provide for the maintenance of the parish priests and other ecclesiastics wherever necessary, and to meet in case of need the expenses of the divine service. In addition he expressed his will "that there should always be in the council one ecclesiastical member," and later he added a clerical councillor to the members already installed. There were summoned to the council MM. de Villeray, de Tilly, Damours, Dupont, Louis René de Lotbinière, de Peyras, and Denys de Vitré. M. Denis Joseph

Ruette d'Auteuil was appointed solicitor-general; his functions consisted in speaking in the name of the king, and in making, in the name of the prince or of the public, the necessary statements. The former clerk, M. Peuvret de Mesnu, was retained in his functions.

The quarrels thus generated between the governor and the commissioner on the question of the title of president grew so embittered that discord did not cease to prevail between the two men on even the most insignificant questions. Forcibly involved in these dissensions, the Sovereign Council itself was divided into two hostile camps, and letters of complaint and denunciation rained upon the desk of the minister in France: on the one hand the governor was accused of receiving presents from the savages before permitting them to trade at Montreal, and was reproached for sending beavers to New England; on the other hand, it was hinted that the commissioner was interested in the business of the principal merchants of the colony. Scrupulously honest, but of a somewhat stern temperament, Duchesneau could not bend to the imperious character of Frontenac, who in his exasperation readily allowed himself to be impelled to arbitrary acts; thus he kept the councillor Damours in prison for two months for a slight cause, and banished from Quebec three other councillors, MM. de Villeray, de Tilly and d'Auteuil. The climax was reached, and in spite of the services rendered to the

country by these two administrators, the king decided to recall them both in 1682. Count de Frontenac was replaced as governor by M. Lefebvre de la Barre, and M. Duchesneau by M. de Meulles.

## CHAPTER XII

### THIRD VOYAGE TO FRANCE

DISEMBARKING in the year 1675 on that soil where as apostolic vicar he had already accomplished so much good, giving his episcopal benediction to that Christian throng who came to sing the Te Deum to thank God for the happy return of their first pastor, casting his eyes upon that manly and imposing figure of one of the most illustrious lieutenants of the great king, the Count de Frontenac, what could be the thoughts of Mgr. de Laval? He could not deceive himself: the letters received from Canada proved to him too clearly that the friction between the civil powers and religious authorities would be continued under a governor of uncompromising and imperious character. With what fervour must he have asked of Heaven the tact, the prudence and the patience so necessary in such delicate circumstances!

Two questions, especially, divided the governor and the bishop: that of the permanence of livings, and the everlasting matter of the sale of brandy to the savages, a question which, like the phœnix, was continually reborn from its ashes. "The prelate," says the Abbé Gosselin, "desired to establish parishes wherever they were necessary, and procure

for them good and zealous missionaries, and, as far as possible, priests residing in each district, but removable and attached to the seminary, which received the tithes and furnished them with all they had need of. But Frontenac found that this system left the priests too dependent on the bishop, and that the clergy thus closely connected with the bishop and the seminary, was too formidable and too powerful a body. It was with the purpose of weakening it and of rendering it, by the aid which it would require, more dependent on the civil authority, that he undertook that campaign for permanent livings which ended in the overthrow of Mgr. de Laval's system."

Colbert, in fact, was too strongly prejudiced against the clergy of Canada by the reports of Talon and Frontenac. These three men were wholly devoted to the interests of France as well as to those of the colony, but they judged things only from a purely human point of view. "I see," Colbert wrote in 1677 to Commissioner Duchesneau, "that the Count de Frontenac is of the opinion that the trade with the savages in drinks, called in that country intoxicating, does not cause the great and terrible evils to which Mgr. de Québec takes exception, and even that it is necessary for commerce; and I see that you are of an opinion contrary to this. In this matter, before taking sides with the bishop, you should enquire very exactly as to the number of murders, assassinations, cases of arson, and other

excesses caused by brandy . . . and send me the proof of this. If these deeds had been continual, His Majesty would have issued a most severe and vigorous prohibition to all his subjects against engaging in this traffic. But, in the absence of this proof, and seeing, moreover, the contrary in the evidence and reports of those that have been longest in this country, it is not just, and the general policy of a state opposes in this the feelings of a bishop who, to prevent the abuses that a small number of private individuals may make of a thing good in itself, wishes to abolish trade in an article which greatly serves to attract commerce, and the savages themselves, to the orthodox Christians." Thus M. Dudouyt could not but fail in his mission, and he wrote to Mgr. de Laval that Colbert, while recognizing very frankly the devotion of the bishop and the missionaries, believed that they exaggerated the fatal results of the traffic. The zealous collaborator of the Bishop of Quebec at the same time urged the prelate to suspend the spiritual penalties till then imposed upon the traders, in order to deprive the minister of every motive of bitterness against the clergy.

The bishop admitted the wisdom of this counsel, which he followed, and meanwhile the king, alarmed by a report from Commissioner Duchesneau, who shared the view of the missionaries, desired to investigate and come to a final decision on the question. He therefore ordered the Count

de Frontenac to choose in the colony twenty-four competent persons, and to commission them to examine the drawbacks to the sale of intoxicating liquors. Unfortunately, the persons chosen for this enquiry were engaged in trade with the savages; their conclusions must necessarily be prejudiced. They declared that "very few disorders arose from the traffic in brandy, among the natives of the country; that, moreover, the Dutch, by distributing intoxicating drinks to the Iroquois, attracted by this means the trade in beaver skins to Orange and Manhattan. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary to allow the brandy trade in order to bring the savages into the French colony and to prevent them from taking their furs to foreigners."

We cannot help being surprised at such a judgment when we read over the memoirs of the time, which all agree in deploring the sad results of this traffic. The most crying injustice, the most revolting immorality, the ruin of families, settlements devastated by drunkenness, agriculture abandoned, the robust portion of the population ruining its health in profitless expeditions: such were some of the most horrible fruits of alcohol. And what do we find as a compensation for so many evils? A few dozen rascals enriched, returning to squander in France a fortune shamefully acquired. And let it not be objected that, if the Indians had not been able to purchase the wherewithal to satisfy their terrible passion for strong drink, they would have

carried their furs to the English or the Dutch, for it was proven that the offer of Governor Andros, to forbid the sale of brandy to the savages in New England on condition that the French would act likewise in New France, was formally rejected. "To-day when the passions of the time have long been silent," says the Abbé Ferland, "it is impossible not to admire the energy displayed by the noble bishop, imploring the pity of the monarch for the savages of New France with all the courage shown by Las Casas, when he pleaded the cause of the aborigines of Spanish America. Disdaining the hypocritical outcries of those men who prostituted the name of commerce to cover their speculations and their rapine, he exposed himself to scorn and persecution in order to save the remnant of those indigenous American tribes, to protect his flock from the moral contagion which threatened to weigh upon it, and to lead into the right path the young men who were going to ruin among the savage tribes."

The worthy bishop desired to prevent the laxity of the sale of brandy that might result from the declaration of the Committee of Twenty-four, and in the autumn of 1678 he set out again for France. To avoid a journey so fatiguing, he might easily have found excuses in the rest needed after a difficult pastoral expedition which he had just concluded, in the labours of his seminary which demanded his presence, and especially in the bad

state of his health; but is not the first duty of a leader always to stand in the breach, and to give to all the example of self-sacrifice? A report from his hand on the disorders caused by the traffic in strong liquors would perhaps have obtained a fortunate result, but thinking that his presence at the court would be still more efficacious, he set out. He managed to find in his charity and the goodness of his heart such eloquent words to depict the evils wrought upon the Church in Canada by the scourge of intoxication, that Louis XIV was moved, and commissioned his confessor, Father La Chaise, to examine the question conjointly with the Archbishop of Paris. According to their advice, the king expressly forbade the French to carry intoxicating liquors to the savages in their dwellings or in the woods, and he wrote to Frontenac to charge him to see that the edict was respected. On his part, Laval consented to maintain the *cas réservé* only against those who might infringe the royal prohibition. The Bishop of Quebec had hoped for more; for nothing could prevent the Indians from coming to buy the terrible poison from the French, and moreover, discovery of the infractions of the law would be, if not impossible, at least most difficult. Nevertheless, it was an advantage obtained over the dealers and their protectors, who aimed at nothing less than an unrestricted traffic in brandy. A dyke was set up against the devastations of the scourge; the worthy bishop might hope to maintain

it energetically by his vigilance and that of his coadjutors. Unfortunately, he could not succeed entirely, and little by little the disorders became so multiplied that M. de Denonville considered brandy as one of the greatest evils of Canada, and that the venerable superior of St. Sulpice de Montréal, M. Dollier de Casson, wrote in 1691: "I have been twenty-six years in this country, and I have seen our numerous and flourishing Algonquin missions all destroyed by drunkenness." Accordingly, it became necessary later to fall back upon the former rigorous regulations against the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians.

Before his departure for France the Bishop of Quebec had given the devoted priests of St. Sulpice a mark of his affection: he constituted the parish of Notre-Dame de Montréal according to the canons of the Church, and joined it in perpetuity to the Seminary of Ville-Marie, "to be administered, under the plenary authority of the Bishops of Quebec, by such ecclesiastics as might be chosen by the superior of the said seminary. The priests of St. Sulpice having by their efforts and their labours produced during so many years in New France, and especially in the Island of Montreal, very great fruits for the glory of God and the advantage of this growing Church, we have given them, as being most irreproachable in faith, doctrine, piety and conduct, in perpetuity, and do give them, by virtue of these presents, the livings of the

Island of Montreal, in order that they may be perfectly cultivated as up to now they have been, as best they might be by their preachings and examples." In fact, misunderstandings like that which had occurred on the arrival of de Queylus were no longer to be feared; since the authority to which Laval could lay claim had been duly established and proved, the Sulpicians had submitted and accepted his jurisdiction. They had for a longer period preserved their independence as temporal lords, and the governor of Ville-Marie, de Maisonneuve, jealous of preserving intact the rights of those whom he represented, even dared one day to refuse the keys of the fort to the governor-general, M. d'Argenson. Poor de Maisonneuve paid for this excessive zeal by the loss of his position, for d'Argenson never forgave him.

The parish of Notre-Dame was united with the Seminary of Montreal on October 30th, 1678, one year after the issuing of the letters patent which recognized the civil existence of St. Sulpice de Montréal. Mgr. de Laval at the same time united with the parish of Notre-Dame the chapel of Bonsecours. On the banks of the St. Lawrence, not far from the church of Notre-Dame, rises a chapel of modest appearance. It is Notre-Dame de Bonsecours. It has seen many generations kneeling on its square, and has not ceased to protect with its shadow the Catholic quarter of Montreal. The buildings about it rose successively, only to give

way themselves to other monuments. Notre-Dame de Bonsecours is still respected; the piety of Catholics defends it against all attacks of time or progress, and the little church raises proudly in the air that slight wooden steeple that more than once has turned aside the avenging bolt of the Most High. Sister Bourgeoys had begun it in 1657; to obtain the funds necessary for its completion she betook herself to Paris. She obtained one hundred francs from M. Macé, a priest of St. Sulpice. One of the associates of the Company of Montreal, M. de Fancamp, received for her from two of his fellow-partners, MM. Denis and Leprêtre, a statuette of the Virgin made of the miraculous wood of Montagu, and he himself, to participate in this gift, gave her a shrine of the most wonderful richness to contain the precious statue. On her return to Canada, Marguerite Bourgeoys caused to be erected near the house of the Sisters a wooden lean-to in the form of a chapel, which became the provisional sanctuary of the statuette. Two years later, on June 29th, the laying of the foundation stone of the chapel took place. The work was urged with enthusiasm, and encouraged by the pious impatience of Sister Bourgeoys. The generosity of the faithful vied in enthusiasm, and gifts flowed in. M. de Maisonneuve offered a cannon, of which M. Souart had a bell made at his expense. Two thousand francs, furnished by the piety of the inhabitants, and one hundred louis from Sister Bourgeoys and her nuns,

aided the foundress to complete the realization of a wish long cherished in her heart; the new chapel became an inseparable annex of the parish of Ville-Marie.

These most precious advantages were recognized on November 6th, 1678, by Mgr. de Laval, who preserved throughout his life the most tender devotion to the Mother of God. On the other hand, the prelate imposed upon the parish priest the obligation of having the Holy Mass celebrated there on the Day of the Visitation, and of going there in procession on the Day of the Assumption. Is it necessary to mention with what zeal, with what devotion the Canadians brought to Mary in this new temple their homage and their prayers? Let us listen to the enthusiastic narrative of Sister Morin, a nun of St. Joseph: "The Holy Mass is said there every day, and even several times a day, to satisfy the devotion and the trust of the people, which are great towards Notre-Dame de Bonsecours. Processions wend their way thither on occasions of public need or calamity, with much success. It is the regular promenade of the devout persons of the town, who make a pilgrimage there every evening, and there are few good Catholics who, from all the places in Canada, do not make vows of offerings to this chapel in all the dangers in which they find themselves."

The church of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours was twice remodelled; built at first of oak on stone

foundations, it was rebuilt of stone and consumed in 1754 in a conflagration which destroyed a part of the town. In 1772 the chapel was rebuilt as it exists now, one hundred and two feet long by forty-six wide.

## CHAPTER XIII

### LAVAL RETURNS TO CANADA

MGR. DE LAVAL was still in France when the edict of May, 1679, appeared, decreeing on the suggestion of Frontenac, that the tithe should be paid only to "each of the parish priests within the extent of his parish where he is established in perpetuity in the stead of the removable priest who previously administered it." The ideas of the Count de Frontenac were thus victorious, and the king retracted his first decision. He had in his original decree establishing the Seminary of Quebec, granted the bishop and his successors "the right of recalling and displacing the priests by them delegated to the parishes to exercise therein parochial functions." Laval on his return to Canada conformed without murmur to the king's decision; he worked, together with the governor and commissioner, at drawing up the plan of the parishes to be established, and sent his vicar-general to install the priests who were appointed to the different livings. He desired to inspire his whole clergy with the disinterestedness which he had always evinced, for not only did he recommend his priests "to content themselves with the simplest living, and with the bare necessaries of their support," but

besides, agreeing with the governor and the commissioner, he estimated that an annual sum of five hundred livres merely, that is to say, about three hundred dollars of our present money, was sufficient for the lodging and maintenance of a priest. This was more than modest, and yet, without a very considerable extension, there was no parish capable of supplying the needs of its priest. There was indeed, it is true, an article of the edict specifying that in case of the tithe being insufficient, the necessary supplement should be fixed by the council and furnished by the seigneur of the place and by the inhabitants; but this manner of aiding the priests who were reduced to a bare competence was not practical, as was soon evident. Another article gave the title of patron to any seigneur who should erect a religious edifice; this article was just as fantastic, "for," wrote Commissioner Duchesneau, "there is no private person in this country who is in a position to build churches of any kind."

The king, always well disposed towards the clergy of Canada, came to their aid again in this matter. He granted them an annual income of eight thousand francs, to be raised from his "*Western Dominions*," that is to say, from the sum derived in Canada from the *droit du quart* and the farm of Tadousac; from these funds, which were distributed by the seminary until 1692, and after this date by the bishop alone, two thousand francs were to be set aside for priests prevented by illness or

old age from fulfilling the duties of the holy ministry, and twelve hundred francs were to be employed in the erection of parochial churches. This aid came aptly, but was not sufficient, as Commissioner de Beauharnois himself admits. And yet the deplorable state in which the treasury of France then was, on account of the enormous expenses indulged in by Louis XIV, and especially in consequence of the wars which he waged against Europe, obliged him to diminish this allowance. In 1707 it was reduced by half.

It was feared for a time by the Sulpicians that the edict of 1679 might injure the rights which they had acquired from the union with their seminary of the parishes established on the Island of Montreal, and they therefore hastened to request from the king the civil confirmation of this canonical union. "There is," they said in their request, "a sort of need that the parishes of the Island of Montreal and of the surrounding parts should be connected with a community able to furnish them with priests, who could not otherwise be found in the country, to administer the said livings; these priests would not expose themselves to a sea voyage and to leaving their family comforts to go and sacrifice themselves in a wild country, if they did not hope that in their infirmity or old age they would be free to withdraw from the laborious administration of the parishes, and that they would find a refuge in which to end their days in tran-

quillity in a community which, on its part, would not pledge itself in such a way as to afford them the hope of this refuge, and to furnish other priests in their place, if it had not the free control of the said parishes and power to distribute among them the ecclesiastics belonging to its body whom it might judge capable of this, and withdraw or exchange them when fitting." The request of the Sulpicians was granted by the king.

It was not until 1680 that the Bishop of Quebec could return to Canada. The all-important questions of the permanence of livings and of the traffic in brandy were not the only ones which kept him in France ; another difficulty, that of the dependence of his diocese, demanded of his devotion a great many efforts at the court. The circumstances were difficult. France was plunged at this period in the famous dispute between the government and the court of Rome over the question of the right of *régale*, a dispute which nearly brought about a schism. The Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Harlay, who had laboured so much when he was Bishop of Rouen to keep New France under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Normandy, used his influence to make Canada dependent on the archbishopric of Paris. The death of this prelate put an end to this claim, and the French colony in North America continued its direct connection with the Holy See.

Mgr. de Laval strove also to obtain from the Holy Father the canonical union of the abbeys of

Maubec and of Lestrées with his bishopric; if he had obtained it, he could have erected his chapter at once, assuring by the revenues of these monasteries a sufficient maintenance for his canons. The opposition of the religious orders on which these abbeys depended defeated his plan, but in compensation he obtained from the generosity of the king a grant of land on which his successor, Saint-Vallier, afterwards erected the church of Notre-Dame des Victoires. The venerable prelate might well ask favours for his diocese when he himself set an example of the greatest generosity. By a deed, dated at Paris, he gave to his seminary all that he possessed: Ile Jésus, the seigniories of Beaupré and Petite Nation, a property at Château Richer, finally books, furniture, funds, and all that might belong to him at the moment of his death.

Laval returned to Canada at a time when the relations with the savage tribes were becoming so strained as to threaten an impending rupture. So far had matters gone that Colonel Thomas Dongan, governor of New York, had urged the Iroquois to dig up the hatchet, and he was only too willingly obeyed. Unfortunately, the two governing heads of the colony were replaced just at that moment. Governor de Frontenac and Commissioner Duchesneau were recalled in 1682, and supplanted by de la Barre and de Meulles. The latter were far from equalling their predecessors. M. de Lefebvre de la Barre was a clever

sailor but a deplorable administrator; as for the commissioner, M. de Meulles, his incapacity did not lessen his extreme conceit.

On his arrival at Quebec, Laval learned with deep grief that a terrible conflagration had, a few weeks before, consumed almost the whole of the Lower Town. The houses, and even the stores being then built of wood, everything was devoured by the flames. A single dwelling escaped the disaster, that of a rich private person, M. Aubert de la Chesnaie, in whose house mass was said every Sunday and feast-day for the citizens of the Lower Town who could not go to the parish service. To bear witness of his gratitude to Heaven, M. de la Chesnaie came to the aid of a good number of his fellow-citizens, and helped them with his money to rebuild their houses. This fire injured the merchants of Montreal almost as much as those of Quebec, and the *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu* relates that "more riches were lost on that sad night than all Canada now possesses."

The king had the greatest desire for the future reign of harmony in the colony; accordingly he enjoined upon M. de Meulles to use every effort to agree with the governor-general: "If the latter should fail in his duty to the sovereign, the commissioner should content himself with a remonstrance and allow him to act further without disturbing him, but as soon as possible afterwards should render an account to the king's council of

what might be prejudicial to the good of the state." Mgr. de Laval, to whom the prince had written in the same tenor, replied at once: "The honour which your Majesty has done me in writing to me that M. de Meulles has orders to preserve here a perfect understanding with me in all things, and to give me all the aid in his power, is so evident a mark of the affection which your Majesty cherishes for this new Church and for the bishop who governs it, that I feel obliged to assure your Majesty of my most humble gratitude. As I do not doubt that this new commissioner whom you have chosen will fulfil with pleasure your commands, I may also assure your Majesty that on my part I shall correspond with him in the fulfilment of my duty, and that I shall all my life consider it my greatest joy to enter into the intentions of your Majesty for the general good of this country, which constitutes a part of your dominions." Concord thus advised could not displease a pastor who loved nothing so much as union and harmony among all who held the reins of power, a pastor who had succeeded in making his Church a family so united that it was quoted once as a model in one of the pulpits of Paris. If he sometimes strove against the powerful of this earth, it was when it was a question of combating injustice or some abuse prejudicial to the welfare of his flock. "Although by his superior intelligence," says Latour, " by his experience, his labours, his virtues,

his birth and his dignity, he was an oracle whose views the whole clergy respected, no one ever more distrusted himself, or asked with more humility, or followed with more docility the counsel of his inferiors and disciples. . . . He was less a superior than a colleague, who sought the right with them and sought it only for its own sake. Accordingly, never was prelate better obeyed or better seconded than Mgr. de Laval, because, far from having that professional jealousy which desires to do everything itself, which dreads merit and enjoys only despotism, never did prelate evince more appreciative confidence in his inferiors, or seek more earnestly to give zeal and talent their dues, or have less desire to command, or did, in fact, command less." The new governor brought from France strong prejudices against the bishop; he lost them very quickly, and he wrote to the minister, the Marquis de Seignelay: "We have greatly laboured, the bishop and I, in the establishment of the parishes of this country. I send you the arrangement which we have arrived at concerning them. We owe it to the bishop, who is extremely well affected to the country, and in whom we must trust." The minister wrote to the prelate and expressed to him his entire satisfaction in his course.

The vigilant bishop had not yet entirely recovered from the fatigue of his journey when he decided, in spite of the infirmities which were beginning to overwhelm him, and which were to

remain the constant companions of his latest years, to visit all the parishes and the religious communities of his immense diocese. He had already traversed them in the winter time in his former pastoral visits, shod with snowshoes, braving the fogs, the snow and the bitterest weather. In the suffocating heat of summer, travel in a bark canoe was scarcely less fatiguing to a man of almost sixty years, worn out by the hard ministry of a quarter of a century. However, he decided on a summer journey, and set out on June 1st, 1681, accompanied by M. de Maizerets, one of his grand vicars. He visited successively Lotbinière, Batiscan, Champlain, Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Trois Rivières, Chambly, Sorel, St. Ours, Contrecœur, Verchères, Boucherville, Repentigny, Lachesnaie, and arrived on June 19th at Montreal. The marks of respectful affection lavished upon him by the population compel him to receive continual visits; but he has come especially for his beloved religious communities, and he honours them all with his presence, the Seminary of St. Sulpice as well as the Congregation of Notre-Dame and the hospital. These labours are not sufficient for his apostolic zeal; he betakes himself to the house of the Jesuit Fathers at Laprairie, then to their Indian Mission at the Sault St. Louis, finally to the parish of St. François de Sales, in the Ile Jésus. Descending the St. Lawrence River, he sojourns successively at Longueuil, at Varennes, at Lavaltrie, at

Nicolet, at Bécancourt, at Gentilly, at Ste. Anne de la Pérade, at Deschambault. He returns to Quebec; his devoted fellow-workers in the seminary urge him to rest, but he will think of rest only when his mission is fully ended. He sets out again, and Ile aux Oies, Cap-Saint-Ignace, St. Thomas, St. Michel, Beaumont, St. Joseph de Lévis have in turn the happiness of receiving their pastor. The undertaking was too great for the bishop's strength, and he suffered the results which could not but follow upon such a strain. The registers of the Sovereign Council prove to us that only a week after his return he had to take to his bed, and for two months could not occupy his seat among the other councillors. "His Lordship fell ill of a dangerous malady," says a memoir of that time. "For the space of a fortnight his death was expected, but God granted us the favour of bringing him to convalescence, and eventually to his former health."

M. de la Barre, on his arrival, desired to inform himself exactly of the condition of the colony. In a great assembly held at Quebec, on October 10th, 1682, he gathered all the men who occupied positions of consideration in the colony. Besides the governor, the bishop and the commissioner, there were noticed among others M. Dollier de Casson, the superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, several Jesuit Fathers, MM. de Varennes, governor of Three Rivers, d'Ailleboust, de

Brussy and Le Moyne. The information which M. de la Barre obtained from the assembly was far from reassuring; incessantly stirred up by Governor Dongan's genius for intrigue, the Iroquois were preparing to descend upon the little colony. If they had not already begun hostilities, it was because they wished first to massacre the tribes allied with the French; already the Hurons, the Algonquins, the Conestogas, the Delawares and a portion of the Illinois had fallen under their blows. It was necessary to save from extermination the Ottawa and Illinois tribes. Now, one might indeed raise a thousand robust men, accustomed to savage warfare, but, if they were used for an expedition, who would cultivate in their absence the lands of these brave men? A prompt reinforcement from the mother country became urgent, and M. de la Barre hastened to demand it.

The war had already begun. The Iroquois had seized two canoes, the property of La Salle, near Niagara; they had likewise attacked and plundered fourteen Frenchmen *en route* to the Illinois with merchandise valued at sixteen thousand francs. It was known, besides, that the Cayugas and the Senecas were preparing to attack the French settlements the following summer. In spite of all, the expected help did not arrive. One realizes the anguish to which the population must have been a prey when one reads the following letter from the Bishop of Quebec: "Sire, the Marquis de Seig-

nelay will inform your Majesty of the war which the Iroquois have declared against your subjects of New France, and will explain the need of sending aid sufficient to destroy, if possible, this enemy, who has opposed for so many years the establishment of this colony. . . . Since it has pleased your Majesty to choose me for the government of this growing Church, I feel obliged, more than any one, to make its needs manifest to you. The paternal care which you have always had for us leaves me no room to doubt that you will give the necessary orders for the most prompt aid possible, without which this poor country would be exposed to a danger nigh unto ruin."

The expected reinforcements finally arrived; on November 9th, 1684, the whole population of Quebec, assembled at the harbour, received with joy three companies of soldiers, composed of fifty-two men each. The Bishop of Quebec did not fail to express to the king his personal obligation and the gratitude of all: "The troops which your Majesty has sent to defend us against the Iroquois," he wrote to the king, "and the lands which you have granted us for the subsidiary church of the Lower Town, and the funds which you have allotted both to rebuild the cathedral spire and to aid in the maintenance of the priests, these are favours which oblige me to thank your Majesty, and make me hope that you will deign to continue your royal bounties to our Church and the whole colony."

M. de la Barre was thus finally able to set out on his expedition against the Iroquois. At the head of one hundred and thirty soldiers, seven hundred militia and two hundred and sixty Indians, he marched to Lake Ontario, where the Iroquois, intimidated, sent him a deputation. The ambassadors, who expected to see a brilliant army full of ardour, were astonished to find themselves in the presence of pale and emaciated soldiers, worn out more by sickness and privations of every kind than by fatigue. The governor, in fact, had lost ten or twelve days at Montreal; on the way the provisions had become spoiled and insufficient, hence the name of Famine Creek given to the place where he entered with his troops, above the Oswego River. At this sight the temper of the delegates changed, and their proposals showed it; they spoke with arrogance, and almost demanded peace; they undertook to indemnify the French merchants plundered by them on condition that the army should decamp on the morrow. Such weakness could not attract to M. de la Barre the affection of the colonists; the king relieved him from his functions, and appointed as his successor the Marquis de Denonville, a colonel of dragoons, whose valour seemed to promise the colony better days.

## CHAPTER XIV

### RESIGNATION OF MGR. DE LAVAL

THE long and conscientious pastoral visit which he had just ended had proved to the indefatigable prelate that it would be extremely difficult to establish his parishes solidly. Instead of grouping themselves together, which would have given them the advantages of union both against the attacks of savages and for the circumstances of life in which man has need of the aid of his fellows, the colonists had built their dwellings at random, according to the inspiration of the moment, and sometimes at long distances from each other; thus there existed, as late as 1678, only twenty-five fixed livings, and it promised to be very difficult to found new ones. To give a pastor the direction of parishioners established within an enormous radius of his parish house, was to condemn his ministry in advance to inefficacy. To prove it, the Abbé Gosselin cites a striking example. Of the two missionaries who shared the southern shore, the one, M. Morel, ministered to the country between Berthier and Rivière du Loup; the other, M. Volant de Saint-Claude, from Berthier to Rivière du Chêne, and each of them had only about sixty families scattered here and there. And how was one to expect that

these poor farmers could maintain their pastor and build a church? Almost everywhere the chapels were of wood or clapboards, and thatched; not more than eight or nine centres of population could boast of possessing a stone church; many hamlets still lacked a chapel and imitated the Lower Town of Quebec, whose inhabitants attended service in a private house. As to priests' houses, they were a luxury that few villages could afford: the priest had to content himself with being sheltered by a respectable colonist.

During the few weeks when illness confined him to his bed, Laval had leisure to reflect on the difficulties of his task. He understood that his age and the infirmities which the Lord laid upon him would no longer permit him to bring to so arduous a work the necessary energy. "His humility," says Sister Juchereau, "persuaded him that another in his place would do more good than he, although he really did a great deal, because he sought only the glory of God and the welfare of his flock." In consequence, he decided to go and carry in person his resignation to the king. But before embarking for France, with his accustomed prudence he set his affairs in order. He had one plan, especially, at heart, that of establishing according to the rules of the Church the chapter which had already existed *de facto* for a long while. Canons are necessary to a bishopric; their duties are not merely decorative, for they assist the bishop in his episco-

pal office. form his natural council, replace him on certain occasions, govern the diocese from the death of its head until the deceased is replaced, and finally officiate in turn before the altars of the cathedral in order that prayer shall incessantly ascend from the diocese towards the Most High. The only obstacle to this creation until now had been the lack of resources, for the canonical union with the abbeys of Maubec and Lestrées was not yet an accomplished fact. Mgr. de Laval resolved to appeal to the unselfishness of the priests of the seminary, and he succeeded : they consented to fulfil without extra salary the duties of canons.

By an ordinance of November 6th, 1684, the Bishop of Quebec established a chapter composed of twelve canons and four chaplains. The former, among whom were five priests born in the colony, were M. Henri de Bernières, priest of Quebec, who remained dean until his death in 1700 ; MM. Louis Ange de Maizerets, archdeacon, Charles Glandelet, theologist, Dudouyt, grand cantor, and Jean Gauthier de Brulon, confessor. The ceremony of installation took place with the greatest pomp, amid the boom of artillery and the joyful sound of bells and music; governor, intendant, councillors, officers and soldiers, inhabitants of the city and the environments, everybody wished to be present. It remained to give a constitution to the new chapter. Mgr. de Laval had already busied himself with this for several months, and corresponded on this subject

with M. Chéron, a clever lawyer of Paris. Accordingly, the constitution which he submitted for the infant chapter on the very morrow of the ceremony was admired unreservedly and adopted without discussion. Twenty-four hours afterwards he set sail accompanied by the good wishes of his priests, who, with anxious heart and tears in their eyes, followed him with straining gaze until the vessel disappeared below the horizon. Before his departure, he had, like a father who in his last hour divides his goods among his children, given his seminary a new proof of his attachment: he left it a sum of eight thousand francs for the building of the chapel.

It would seem that sad presentiments assailed him at this moment, for he said in the deed of gift: "I declare that my last will is to be buried in this chapel; and if our Lord disposes of my life during this voyage I desire that my body be brought here for burial. I also desire this chapel to be open to the public." Fortunately, he was mistaken, it was not the intention of the Lord to remove him so soon from the affections of his people. For twenty years more the revered prelate was to spread about him good works and good examples, and Providence reserved for him the happiness of dying in the midst of his flock.

His generosity did not confine itself to this grant. He could not leave his diocese, which he was not sure of seeing again, without giving a token of re-

membrance to that school of St. Joachim, which he had founded and which he loved so well; he gave the seminary eight thousand francs for the support of the priest entrusted with the direction of the school at the same time as with the ministry of the parish, and another sum of four thousand francs to build the village church.

A young Canadian priest, M. Guyon, son of a farmer of the Beaupré shore, had the good fortune of accompanying the bishop on the voyage. It would have been very imprudent to leave the venerable prelate alone, worn out as he was by troublesome fits of vertigo whenever he indulged too long in work; besides, he was attacked by a disease of the heart, whose onslaughts sometimes incapacitated him.

It would be misjudging the foresight of Mgr. de Laval to think that before embarking for the mother country he had not sought out a priest worthy to replace him. He appealed to two men whose judgment and circumspection he esteemed, M. Dudouyt and Father Le Valois of the Society of Jesus. He asked them to recommend a true servant of God, virtuous and zealous above all. Father Le Valois indicated the Abbé Jean Baptiste de la Croix de Saint-Vallier, the king's almoner, whose zeal for the welfare of souls, whose charity, great piety, modesty and method made him the admiration of all. The influence which his position and the powerful relations of his family must gain

for the Church in Canada were an additional argument in his favour; the superior of St. Sulpice, M. Tronson, who was also consulted, praised highly the talents and the qualities of the young priest. "My Lord has shown great virtue in his resignation," writes M. Dudouyt. "I know no occasion on which he has shown so strongly his love for his Church; for he has done everything that could be desired to procure a person capable of preserving and perfecting the good work which he has begun here." If the Abbé de Saint-Vallier had not been a man after God's own heart, he would not have accepted a duty so honourable but so difficult. He was not unaware of the difficulties which he would have to surmount, for Mgr. de Laval explained them to him himself with the greatest frankness; and, what was a still greater sacrifice, the king's almoner was to leave the most brilliant court in the world for a very remote country, still in process of organization. Nevertheless he accepted, and Laval had the satisfaction of knowing that he was committing his charge into the hands of a worthy successor.

It was now only a question of obtaining the consent of the king before petitioning the sovereign pontiff for the canonical establishment of the new episcopal authority. It was not without difficulty that it was obtained, for the prince could not decide to accept the resignation of a prelate who seemed to him indispensable to the interests of

New France. He finally understood that the decision of Mgr. de Laval was irrevocable; as a mark of confidence and esteem he allowed him to choose his successor.

At this period the misunderstanding created between the common father of the faithful and his most Christian Majesty by the claims of the latter in the matter of the right of *régale*[1] kept the Church in a false position, to the grief of all good Catholics. Pope Innocent XI waited with persistent and calm firmness until Louis XIV should become again the elder son of the Church; until then France could not exist for him, and more than thirty episcopal sees remained without occupants in the country of Saint Louis and of Joan of Arc. It was not, then, to be hoped that the appointment by the king of the Abbé de Saint-Vallier as second bishop of Quebec could be immediately sanctioned by the sovereign pontiff. It was decided that Mgr. de Laval, to whom the king granted an annuity for life of two thousand francs from the revenues of the bishopric of Aire, should remain titular bishop until the consecration of his successor, and that M. de Saint-Vallier, appointed provisionally grand vicar of the prelate, should set out immediately for New France, where he would assume the government of the diocese. The Abbé de Saint-Vallier had not yet departed before he gave

[1] A right, belonging formerly to the kings of France, of enjoying the revenues of vacant bishoprics.

evidence of his munificence, and proved to the faithful of his future bishopric that he would be to them as generous a father as he whom he was about to replace. By deed of May 10th, 1685, he presented to the Seminary of Quebec a sum of forty-two thousand francs, to be used for the maintenance of missionaries; he bequeathed to it at the same time all the furniture, books, etc., which he should possess at his death. Laval's purpose was to remain for the present in France, where he would busy himself actively for the interests of Canada, but his fixed resolve was to go and end his days on that soil of New France which he loved so well. It was in 1688, only a few months after the official appointment of Saint-Vallier to the bishopric of Quebec, and his consecration on January 25th of the same year, that Laval returned to Canada.

M. de Saint-Vallier embarked at La Rochelle in the beginning of June, 1685, on the royal vessel which was carrying to Canada the new governor-general, M. de Denonville. The king having permitted him to take with him a score of persons, he made a most judicious choice: nine ecclesiastics, several school-masters and a few good workmen destined for the labours of the seminary, accompanied him. The voyage was long and very fatiguing. The passengers were, however, less tried than those of two other ships which followed them, on one of which more than five hundred

soldiers had been crowded together. As might have been expected, sickness was not long in breaking out among them; more than one hundred and fifty of these unfortunates died, and their bodies were cast into the sea.

Immediately after his arrival the grand vicar visited all the religious establishments of the town, and he observed everywhere so much harmony and good spirit that he could not pass it over in silence. Speaking with admiration of the seminary, he said: "Every one in it devoted himself to spiritual meditation, with such blessed results that from the youngest cleric to the highest ecclesiastics in holy orders each one brought of his own accord all his personal possessions to be used in common. It seemed to me then that I saw revived in the Church of Canada something of that spirit of unworldliness which constituted one of the principal beauties of the budding Church of Jerusalem in the time of the apostles." The examples of brotherly unity and self-effacement which he admired so much in others he also set himself: he placed in the library of the seminary a magnificent collection of books which he had brought with him, and deposited in the coffers of the house several thousand francs in money, his personal property. Braving the rigours of the season, he set out in the winter of 1685 and visited the shore of Beaupré, the Island of Orleans, and then the north shore as far as Montreal. In the spring he took another direction,

and inspected all the missions of Gaspesia and Acadia. He was so well satisfied with the condition of his diocese that he wrote to Mgr. de Laval: "All that I regret is that there is no more good for me to do in this Church."

In the spring of this same year, 1686, a valiant little troop was making a more warlike pastoral visit. To seventy robust Canadians, commanded by d'Iberville, de Sainte-Hélène and de Maricourt, all sons of Charles Le Moyne, the governor had added thirty good soldiers under the orders of MM. de Troyes, Duchesnil and Catalogne, to take part in an expedition for the capture of Hudson Bay from the English. Setting out on snowshoes, dragging their provisions and equipment on toboggans, then advancing, sometimes on foot, sometimes in bark canoes, they penetrated by the Ottawa River and Temiskaming and Abitibi Lakes as far as James Bay. They did not brave so many dangers and trials without being resolved to conquer or die; accordingly, in spite of its twelve cannon, Fort Monsipi was quickly carried. The two forts, Rupert and Ste. Anne, suffered the same fate, and the only one that remained to the English, that named Fort Nelson, was preserved to them solely because its remote situation saved it. The head of the expedition, M. de Troyes, on his return to Quebec, rendered an account of his successes to M. de Denonville and to a new commissioner, M. de Champigny, who had just replaced M. de Meulles.

The bishop's infirmities left him scarcely any respite. "My health," he wrote to his successor, "is exceedingly good considering the bad use I make of it. It seems, however, that the wound which I had in my foot during five or six months at Quebec has been for the last three weeks threatening to re-open. The holy will of God be done!" And he added, in his firm resolution to pass his last days in Canada: "In any case, I feel that I have sufficient strength and health to return this year to the only place which now can give me peace and rest. *In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam.* Meanwhile, as we must have no other aim than the good pleasure of our Lord, whatever desire He gives me for this rest and peace, He grants me at the same time the favour of making Him a sacrifice of it in submitting myself to the opinion that you have expressed, that I should stay this year in France, to be present at your return next autumn." The bad state of his health did not prevent him from devoting his every moment to Canadian interests. He went into the most infinitesimal details of the administration of his diocese, so great was his solicitude for his work. "We must hasten this year, if possible," he wrote, "to labour at the re-establishment of the church of Ste. Anne du Petit-Cap, to which the whole country has such an attachment. We must work also to push forward the clearing of the lands of St. Joachim, in order that we may have the proper

rotation crops on each farm, and that the farms may suffice for the needs of the seminary." In another letter he concerns himself with the sum of three thousand francs granted by the king each year for the marriage portion of a certain number of poor young girls marrying in Canada. "We should," says he, "distribute these moneys in parcels, fifty francs, or ten crowns, to the numerous poor families scattered along the shores, in which there is a large number of children." He practises this wise economy constantly when it is a question, not of his personal property, but of the funds of his seminary. He finds that his successor, whom the ten years which he had passed at court as king's almoner could not have trained in parsimony, allows himself to be carried away, by his zeal and his desire to do good, to a somewhat excessive expense. With what tact and delicacy he indulges in a discreet reproach! "*Magna est fides tua*," he writes to him, "and much greater than mine. We see that all our priests have responded to it with the same confidence and entire submission with which they have believed it their duty to meet your sentiments, in which they have my approval. My particular admiration has been aroused by seeing in all your letters and in all the impulses of your heart so great a reliance on the lovable Providence of God that not only has it permitted you not to have the least doubt that it would abundantly provide the wherewithal for the support of all the works which

it has suggested to you, but that upon this basis, which is the firm truth, you have had the courage to proceed to the execution of them. It is true that my heart has long yearned for what you have accomplished ; but I have never had sufficient confidence or reliance to undertake it. I always awaited the means *quæ pater posuit in suâ potestate.* I hope that, since the Most Holy Family of our Lord has suggested all these works to you, they will give you means and ways to maintain what is so much to the glory of God and the welfare of souls. But, according to all appearances, great difficulties will be found, which will only serve to increase this confidence and trust in God." And he ends with this prudent advice: " Whatever confidence God desires us to have in His providence, it is certain that He demands from us the observance of rules of prudence, not human and political, but Christian and just."

He concerns himself even with the servants, and it is singular to note that his mind, so apt to undertake and execute vast plans, possesses none the less an astonishing sagacity and accuracy of observation in petty details. One Valet, entrusted with the purveyance, had obtained permission to wear the cassock. " Unless he be much changed in his humour," writes Mgr. de Laval, " it would be well to send him back to France ; and I may even opine that, whatever change might appear in him, he would be unfitted to administer a living, the basis

of his character being very rustic, gross, and displeasing, and unsuitable for ecclesiastical functions, in which one is constantly obliged to converse and deal with one's neighbours, both children and adults. Having given him the cassock and having admitted him to the refectory, I hardly see any other means of getting rid of him than to send him back to France."

In his correspondence with Saint-Vallier, Laval gives an account of the various steps which he was taking at court to maintain the integrity of the diocese of Quebec. This was, for a short time, at stake. The Récollets, who had followed La Salle in his expeditions, were trying with some chance of success to have the valley of the Mississippi and Louisiana made an apostolic vicariate independent of Canada. Laval finally gained his cause; the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Quebec over all the countries of North America which belonged to France was maintained, and later the Seminary of Quebec sent missionaries to Louisiana and to the Mississippi.

But the most important questions, which formed the principal subject both of his preoccupations and of his letters, are that of the establishment of the Récollets in the Upper Town of Quebec, that of a plan for a permanent mission at Baie St. Paul, and above all, that of the tithes and the support of the priests. This last question brought about between him and Mgr. de Saint-Vallier a most com-

plete conflict of views. Yet the differences of opinion between the two servants of God never prevented them from esteeming each other highly. The following letter does as much honour to him who wrote it as to him to whom such homage is rendered: "The noble house of Laval from which he sprang," writes Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, "the right of primogeniture which he renounced on entering upon the ecclesiastical career; the exemplary life which he led in France before there was any thought of raising him to the episcopacy; the assiduity with which he governed so long the Church in Canada; the constancy and firmness which he showed in surmounting all the obstacles which opposed on divers occasions the rectitude of his intentions and the welfare of his dear flock; the care which he took of the French colony and his efforts for the conversion of the savages; the expeditions which he undertook several times in the interests of both; the zeal which impelled him to return to France to seek a successor; his disinterestedness and the humility which he manifested in offering and in giving so willingly his frank resignation; finally, all the great virtues which I see him practise every day in the seminary where I sojourn with him, would well deserve here a most hearty eulogy, but his modesty imposes silence upon me, and the veneration in which he is held wherever he is known is praise more worthy than I could give him. . . . ."

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier left Quebec for France on November 18th, 1686, only a few days after a fire which consumed the Convent of the Ursulines ; the poor nuns, who had not been able to snatch anything from the flames, had to accept, until the reconstruction of their convent, the generous shelter offered them by the hospitable ladies of the Hôtel-Dieu. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier did not disembark at the port of La Rochelle until forty-five days after his departure, for this voyage was one continuous storm.

## CHAPTER XV

### MGR. DE LAVAL COMES FOR THE LAST TIME TO CANADA

MGR. DE SAINT-VALLIER received the most kindly welcome from the king: he availed himself of it to request some aid on behalf of the priests of the seminary whom age and infirmity condemned to retirement. He obtained it, and received, besides, fifteen thousand francs for the building of an episcopal palace. He decided, in fact, to withdraw from the seminary, in order to preserve complete independence in the exercise of his high duties. Laval learned with sorrow of this decision; he, who had always clung to the idea of union with his seminary and of having but one common fund with this house, beheld his successor adopt an opposite line of conduct. Another cause of division rose between the two prelates; the too great generosity of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had brought the seminary into financial embarrassment. The Marquis de Seignelay, then minister, thought it wiser under such circumstances to postpone till later the return of Mgr. de Laval to Canada. The venerable bishop, whatever it must have cost him, adhered to this decision with a wholly Christian resignation. "You will know by

the enclosed letters," he writes to the priests of the Seminary of Quebec, "what compels me to stay in France. I had no sooner received my sentence than our Lord granted me the favour of inspiring me to go before the most Holy Sacrament and make a sacrifice of all my desires and of that which is the dearest to me in the world. I began by making the *amende honorable* to the justice of God, who deigned to extend to me the mercy of recognizing that it was in just punishment of my sins and lack of faith that His providence deprived me of the blessing of returning to a place where I had so greatly offended; and I told Him, I think with a cheerful heart and a spirit of humility, what the high priest Eli said when Samuel declared to him from God what was to happen to him: '*Dominus est: quod bonum est in oculis suis faciat.*' But since the will of our Lord does not reject a contrite and humble heart, and since He both abases and exalts, He gave me to know that the greatest favour He could grant me was to give me a share in the trials which He deigned to bear in His life and death for love of us; in thanksgiving for which I said a Te Deum with a heart filled with joy and consolation in my soul: for, as to the lower nature, it is left in the bitterness which it must bear. It is a hurt and a wound which will be difficult to heal and which apparently will last until my death, unless it please Divine Providence, which disposes of men's hearts as it pleases, to bring about some change in the

condition of affairs. This will be when it pleases God, and as it may please Him, without His creatures being able to oppose it."

In Canada the return of the revered Mgr. de Laval was impatiently expected, and the governor, M. de Denonville, himself wrote that "in the present state of public affairs it was necessary that the former bishop should return, in order to influence men's minds, over which he had a great ascendency by reason of his character and his reputation for sanctity." Some persons wrongfully attributed to the influence of Saint-Vallier the order which detained the worthy bishop in France; on the contrary, Saint-Vallier had said one day to the minister, "It would be very hard for a bishop who has founded this church and who desires to go and die in its midst, to see himself detained in France. If Mgr. de Laval should stay here the blame would be cast upon his successor, against whom for this reason many people would be ill disposed."

M. de Denonville desired the more eagerly the return of this prelate so beloved in New France, since difficulties were arising on every hand. Convinced that peace with the Iroquois could not last, he began by amassing provisions and ammunition at Fort Cataraqui, without heeding the protests of Colonel Dongan, the most vigilant and most experienced enemy of French domination in America; then he busied himself with fortifying Montreal. He visited the place, appointed as its governor the

Chevalier de Callières, a former captain in the regiment of Navarre, and in the spring of 1687 employed six hundred men under the direction of M. du Luth, royal engineer, in the erection of a palisade. These wooden defences, as was to be expected, were not durable and demanded repairs every year. The year 1686, which had begun with the conquest of the southern portion of Hudson Bay, was spent almost entirely in preparations for war and negotiations for peace; the Iroquois, nevertheless, continued their inroads. Finally M. de Denonville, having received during the following spring eight hundred poor recruits under the command of Vaudreuil, was ready for his expedition. Part of these reinforcements were at once sent to Montreal, where M. de Callières was gathering a body of troops on St. Helen's Island: eight hundred and thirty-two regulars, one thousand Canadians, and three hundred Indian allies, all burning with the desire of distinguishing themselves, awaited now only the signal for departure.

"With this superiority of forces," says one author, "Denonville conceived, however, the unfortunate idea of beginning hostilities by an act which dishonoured the French name among the savages, that name which, in spite of their great irritation, they had always feared and respected." With the purpose of striking terror into the Iroquois he caused to be seized the chiefs whom the Five Nations had sent as delegates to Cataraqui at the request of Father

de Lamberville, and sent them to France to serve on board the royal galleys. This violation of the law of nations aroused the fury of the Iroquois, and two missionaries, Father Lamberville and Millet, though entirely innocent of this crime, escaped torture only with difficulty. The king disapproved wholly of this treason, and returned the prisoners to Canada; others who, at Fort Frontenac, had been taken by M. de Champigny in as treacherous a manner, were likewise restored to liberty.

The army, divided into four bodies, set out on June 11th, 1687, in four hundred boats. It was joined at Sand River, on the shore of Lake Ontario, by six hundred men from Detroit, and advanced inland. After having passed through two very dangerous defiles, the French were suddenly attacked by eight hundred of the enemy ambushed in the bed of a stream. At first surprised, they promptly recovered from their confusion, and put the savages to flight. Some sixty Iroquois were wounded in this encounter, and forty-five whom they left dead on the field of battle were eaten by the Ottawas, according to the horrible custom of these cannibals. They entered then into the territory of the Tsonnontouans, which was found deserted; everything had been reduced to ashes, except an immense quantity of maize, to which they set fire; they killed also a prodigious number of swine, but they did not meet with a single Indian.

Instead of pursuing the execution of these repri-

sals by marching against the other nations, M. de Denonville proceeded to Niagara, where he built a fort. The garrison of a hundred men which he left there succumbed in its entirety to a mysterious epidemic, probably caused by the poor quality of the provisions. Thus the campaign did not produce results proportionate to the preparations which had been made; it humbled the Iroquois, but by this very fact it excited their rage and desire for vengeance; so true is it that half-measures are more dangerous than complete inaction. They were, besides, cleverly goaded on by Governor Dongan. Towards the end of the summer they ravaged the whole western part of the colony, and carried their audacity to the point of burning houses and killing several persons on the Island of Montreal.

M. de Denonville understood that he could not carry out a second expedition; disease had caused great havoc among the population and the soldiers, and he could no longer count on the Hurons of Michilimackinac, who kept up secret relations with the Iroquois. He was willing to conclude peace, and consented to demolish Fort Niagara and to bring back the Iroquois chiefs who had been sent to France to row in the galleys. The conditions were already accepted on both sides, when the negotiations were suddenly interrupted by the duplicity of Kondiaronk, surnamed the Rat, chief of the Michilimackinac Hurons. This man, the most cunning and crafty of Indians, a race which has nothing to

learn in point of astuteness from the shrewdest diplomat, had offered his services against the Iroquois to the governor, who had accepted them. Enkindled with the desire of distinguishing himself by some brilliant deed, he arrives with a troop of Hurons at Fort Frontenac, where he learns that a treaty is about to be concluded between the French and the Iroquois. Enraged at not having even been consulted in this matter, fearing to see the interests of his nation sacrificed, he lies in wait with his troop at Famine Creek, falls upon the delegates, and, killing a number of them, makes the rest prisoners. On the statement of the latter that they were going on an embassy to Ville-Marie, he feigns surprise, and is astonished that the French governor-general should have sent him to attack men who were going to treat with him. He then sets them at liberty, keeping a single one of them, whom he hastens to deliver to M. de Durantaye, governor of Michilimackinac; the latter, ignorant of the negotiations with the Iroquois, has the prisoner shot in spite of the protestations of the wretched man, who the Rat pretends is mad. The plan of the Huron chief has succeeded; it remains now only to reap the fruits of it. He frees an old Iroquois who has long been detained in captivity and sends him to announce to his compatriots that the French are seeking in the negotiations a cowardly means of ridding themselves of their foes. This news exasperated the Five Nations; henceforth

peace was impossible, and the Iroquois went to join the English, with whom, on the pretext of the dethronement of James II, war was again about to break out. M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, set out for France to lay before the king a plan for the conquest of New York; the monarch adopted it, but, not daring to trust its execution to M. de Denonville, he recalled him in order to entrust it to Count de Frontenac, now again appointed governor.

We can easily conceive that in the danger thus threatening the colony M. de Denonville should have taken pains to surround himself with all the men whose aid might be valuable to him. "You will have this year," wrote M. de Brisacier to M. Glandelet, "the joy of seeing again our two prelates. You will find the first more holy and more than ever dead to himself; and the second will appear to you all that you can desire him to be for the particular consolation of the seminary and the good of New France." On the request of the governor-general, in fact, Mgr. de Laval saw the obstacle disappear which had opposed his departure, and he hastened to take advantage of it. He set out in the spring of 1688, at that period of the year when vegetation begins to display on all sides its festoons of verdure and flowers, and transforms Normandy and Touraine, that garden of France, into genuine groves; the calm of the air, the perfumed breezes of the south, the arrival of the southern birds with

their rich and varied plumage, all contribute to make these days the fairest and sweetest of the year; but, in his desire to reach as soon as possible the country where his presence was deemed necessary, the venerable prelate did not wait for the spring sun to dry the roads soaked by the rains of winter; accordingly, in spite of his infirmities, he was obliged to travel to La Rochelle on horseback. However, he could not embark on the ship *Le Soleil d'Afrique* until about the middle of April.

His duties as Bishop of Quebec had ended on January 25th preceding, the day of the episcopal consecration of M. de Saint-Vallier. It would seem that Providence desired that the priestly career of the prelate and his last co-workers should end at the same time. Three priests of the Seminary of Quebec went to receive in heaven almost at the same period the reward of their apostolic labours. M. Thomas Morel died on September 23rd, 1687; M. Jean Guyon on January 10th, 1688; and M. Dudouyt on the fifteenth of the same month. This last loss, especially, caused deep grief to Mgr. de Laval. He desired that the heart of the devoted missionary should rest in that soil of New France for which it had always beat, and he brought it with him. The ceremony of the burial at Quebec of the heart of M. Dudouyt was extremely touching; the whole population was present. Up to his latest day this priest had taken the greatest interest in Canada, and the letter which he wrote to the

seminary a few days before his death breathes the most ardent charity; it particularly enjoined upon all patience and submission to authority.

The last official document signed by Mgr. de Laval as titulary bishop was an addition to the statutes and rules which he had previously drawn up for the Chapter of the city of Champlain. He wrote at the same time: "It remains for me now, sirs and dearly beloved brethren, only to thank you for the good affection that you preserve towards me, and to assure you that it will not be my fault if I do not go at the earliest moment to rejoin you in the growing Church which I have ever cherished as the portion and heritage which it has pleased our Lord to preserve for me during nearly thirty years. I supplicate His infinite goodness that he into whose hands He has caused it to pass by my resignation may repair all my faults."

The prelate landed on June 3rd. "The whole population," says the Abbé Ferland, "was heartened and rejoiced by the return of Mgr. de Laval, who came back to Canada to end his days among his former flock. His virtues, his long and arduous labours in New France, his sincere love for the children of the country, had endeared him to the Canadians; they felt their trust in Providence renewed on beholding again him who, with them, at their head, had passed through many years of trial and suffering." He hardly took time to rest, but set out at once for Montreal, where he was

anxious to deliver in person to the Sulpicians the document of spiritual and devotional union which had been quite recently signed at Paris by the Seminary of St. Sulpice and by that of the Foreign Missions. Returning to Quebec, he had the pleasure of receiving his successor on the arrival of the latter, who disembarked on July 31st, 1688.

The reception of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was as cordial as that offered two months before to his predecessor. "As early as four o'clock in the morning," we read in the annals of the Ursulines, "the whole population was alert to hasten preparations. Some arranged the avenue along which the new bishop was to pass, others raised here and there the standard of the lilies of France. In the course of the morning Mgr. de Laval, accompanied by several priests, betook himself to the vessel to salute his successor, whom the laws of the old French etiquette kept on board his ship until he had replied to all the compliments prepared for him. Finally, about two o'clock in the afternoon, the whole clergy, the civil and military authorities, and the people having assembled on the quay, Mgr. de Saint-Vallier made his appearance, addressed first by M. de Bernières in the name of the clergy. He was next greeted by the mayor, in the name of the whole town, then the procession began to move, with military music at its head, and the new bishop was conducted to the cathedral between two files of musketeers, who did not fail to salute him and to fire volleys along

the route." "The thanksgiving hymn which re-echoed under the vaults of the holy temple found an echo in all hearts," we read in another account; "and the least happy was not that of the worthy prelate who thus inaugurated his long and laborious episcopal career."

## CHAPTER XVI

### MASSACRE OF LACHINE

THE virtue of Mgr. de Laval lacked the supreme consecration of misfortune. A wearied but triumphant soldier, the venerable shepherd of souls, coming back to dwell in the bishopric of Quebec, the witness of his first apostolic labours, gave himself into the hands of his Master to disappear and die. "Lord," he said with Simeon, "now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word." But many griefs still remained to test his resignation to the Divine Will, and the most shocking disaster mentioned in our annals was to sadden his last days. The year 1688 had passed peacefully enough for the colony, but it was only the calm which is the forerunner of the storm. The Five Nations employed their time in secret organization; the French, lulled in this deceptive security, particularly by news which had come from M. de Valrennes, in command of Fort Frontenac, to whom the Iroquois had declared that they were coming down to Montreal to make peace, had left the forts to return to their dwellings and to busy themselves with the work of the fields. Moreover, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, who commanded at Montreal in the absence of M. de Cal-

lières, who had gone to France, carried his lack of foresight to the extent of permitting the officers stationed in the country to leave their posts. It is astonishing to note such imprudent neglect on the part of men who must have known the savage nature. Rancour is the most deeply-rooted defect in the Indian, and it was madness to think that the Iroquois could have forgotten so soon the insult inflicted on their arms by the expedition of M. de Denonville, or the breach made in their independence by the abduction of their chiefs sent to France as convicts. The warning of their approaching incursion had meanwhile reached Quebec through a savage named Ataviata; unfortunately, the Jesuit Fathers had no confidence in this Indian; they assured the governor-general that Ataviata was a worthless fellow, and M. de Denonville made the mistake of listening too readily to these prejudices and of not at least redoubling his precautions.

It was on the night between August 4th and 5th, 1689; all was quiet on the Island of Montreal. At the end of the evening's conversation, that necessary complement of every well-filled day, the men had hung their pipes, the faithful comrades of their labour, to a rafter of the ceiling; the women had put away their knitting or pushed aside in a corner their indefatigable spinning-wheel, and all had hastened to seek in sleep new strength for the labour of the morrow. Outside, the elements were unchained, the rain and hail were raging. As daring

as the Normans when they braved on frail vessels the fury of the seas, the Iroquois, to the number of fifteen hundred, profited by the storm to traverse Lake St. Louis in their bark canoes, and landed silently on the shore at Lachine. They took care not to approach the forts; the darkness was so thick that the soldiers discovered nothing unusual and did not fire the cannon as was the custom on the approach of the enemy. Long before daybreak the savages, divided into a number of squads, had surrounded the houses within a radius of several miles. Suddenly a piercing signal is given by the chiefs, and at once a horrible clamour rends the air; the terrifying war-cry of the Iroquois has roused the sleepers and raised the hair on the heads of the bravest. The colonists leap from their couches, but they have no time to seize their weapons; demons who seem to be vomited forth by hell have already broken in the doors and windows. The dwellings which the Iroquois cannot penetrate are delivered over to the flames, but the unhappy ones who issue from them in confusion to escape the tortures of the fire are about to be abandoned to still more horrible torments. The pen refuses to describe the horrors of this night, and the imagination of Dante can hardly in his "Inferno" give us an idea of it. The butchers killed the cattle, burned the houses, impaled women, compelled fathers to cast their children into the flames, spitted other little ones still alive and compelled their mothers to roast them. Everything was

burned and pillaged except the forts, which were not attacked; two hundred persons of all ages and of both sexes perished under torture, and about fifty, carried away to the villages, were bound to the stake and burned by a slow fire. Nevertheless the great majority of the inhabitants were able to escape, thanks to the strong liquors kept in some of the houses, with which the savages made ample acquaintance. Some of the colonists took refuge in the forts, others were pursued into the woods.

Meanwhile the alarm had spread in Ville-Marie. M. de Denonville, who was there, gives to the Chevalier de Vaudreuil the order to occupy Fort Roland with his troops and a hundred volunteers. De Vaudreuil hastens thither, accompanied by de Subercase and other officers; they are all eager to measure their strength with the enemy, but the order of Denonville is strict, they must remain on the defensive and run no risk. By dint of insistence, Subercase obtained permission to make a sortie with a hundred volunteers; at the moment when he was about to set out he had to yield the command to M. de Saint-Jean, who was higher in rank. The little troop went and entrenched itself among the débris of a burned house and exchanged an ineffectual fire with the savages ambushed in a clump of trees. They soon perceived a party of French and friendly Indians who, coming from Fort Rémy, were proceeding towards them in great danger of being surrounded

by the Iroquois, who were already sobered. The volunteers wished to rush out to meet this reinforcement, but their commander, adhering to his instructions, which forbade him to push on farther, restrained them. What might have been foreseen happened: the detachment from Fort Rémy was exterminated. Five of its officers were taken and carried off towards the Iroquois villages, but succeeded in escaping on the way, except M. de la Rabeyre, who was bound to the stake and perished in torture.

On reading these details one cannot understand the inactivity of the French: it would seem that the authorities had lost their heads. We cannot otherwise explain the lack of foresight of the officers absent from their posts, the pusillanimous orders of the governor to M. de Vaudreuil, his imprudence in sending too weak a troop through the dangerous places, the lack of initiative on the part of M. de Saint-Jean, finally, the absolute lack of energy and audacity, the complete absence of that ardour which is inherent in the French character.

After this disaster the troops returned to the forts, and the surrounding district, abandoned thus to the fury of the barbarians, was ravaged in all directions. The Iroquois, proud of the terror which they inspired, threatened the city itself; we note by the records of Montreal that on August 25th there were buried two soldiers killed by the savages, and that on September 7th following, Jean Beaudry

suffered the same fate. Finding nothing more to pillage or to burn, they passed to the opposite shore, and plundered the village of Lachesnaie. They massacred a portion of the population, which was composed of seventy-two persons, and carried off the rest. They did not withdraw until the autumn, dragging after them two hundred captives, including fifty prisoners taken at Lachine.

This terrible event, which had taken place at no great distance from them, and the news of which re-echoed in their midst, struck the inhabitants of Quebec with grief and terror. Mgr. de Laval was cruelly affected by it, but, accustomed to adore in everything the designs of God, he seized the occasion to invoke Him with more fervour; he immediately ordered in his seminary public prayers to implore the mercy of the Most High. M. de Frontenac, who was about to begin his second administration, learned the sinister news on his arrival at Quebec on October 15th. He set out immediately for Montreal, which he reached on the twenty-seventh of the same month. He visited the environments, and found only ruins and ashes where formerly rose luxurious dwellings.

War had just been rekindled between France and Great Britain. The governor had not men enough for vast operations, accordingly he prepared to organize a guerilla warfare. While the Abenaquis, those faithful allies, destroyed the settlements of the English in Acadia and killed nearly

two hundred persons there, Count de Frontenac sent in the winter of 1689-90, three detachments against New England; all three were composed of only a handful of men, but these warriors were well seasoned. In the rigorous cold of winter, traversing innumerable miles on their snowshoes, sinking sometimes into the icy water, sleeping in the snow, carrying their supplies on their backs, they surprised the forts which they went to attack, where one would never have believed that men could execute so rash an enterprise. Thus the three detachments were alike successful, and the forts of Corlaer in the state of New York, of Salmon Falls in New Hampshire, and of Casco on the seaboard, were razed.

The English avenged these reverses by capturing Port Royal. Encouraged by this success, they sent Phipps at the head of a large troop to seize Quebec, while Winthrop attacked Montreal with three thousand men, a large number of whom were Indians. Frontenac hastened to Quebec with M. de Callières, governor of Montreal, the militia and the regular troops. Already the fortifications had been protected against surprise by new and well-arranged entrenchments. The hostile fleet appeared on October 16th, 1690, and Phipps sent an officer to summon the governor to surrender the place. The envoy, drawing out his watch, declared with arrogance to the Count de Frontenac that he would give him an hour to decide. "I will answer you by the mouth

of my cannon," replied the representative of Louis XIV. The cannon replied so well that at the first shot the admiral's flag fell into the water; the Canadians, braving the balls and bullets which rained about them, swam out to get it, and this trophy remained hanging in the cathedral of Quebec until the conquest. The *Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* depicts for us very simply the courage and piety of the inhabitants during this siege. "The most admirable thing, and one which surely drew the blessing of Heaven upon Quebec was that during the whole siege no public devotion was interrupted. The city is arranged so that the roads which lead to the churches are seen from the harbour; thus several times a day were beheld processions of men and women going to answer the summons of the bells. The English noticed them; they called M. de Grandeville (a brave Canadian, and clerk of the farm of Tadousac, whom they had made prisoner) and asked him what it was. He answered them simply: 'It is mass, vespers, and the benediction.' By this assurance the citizens of Quebec disconcerted them; they were astonished that women dared to go out; they judged by this that we were very easy in our minds, though this was far from being the case."

It is not surprising that the colonists should have fought valiantly when their bishops and clergy set the example of devotion, when the Jesuits remained constantly among the defenders to encourage and assist

on occasion the militia and the soldiers, when Mgr. de Laval, though withdrawn from the conduct of religious affairs, without even the right of sitting in the Sovereign Council, animated the population by his patriotic exhortations. To prove to the inhabitants that the cause which they defended by struggling for their homes was just and holy, at the same time as to place the cathedral under the protection of Heaven, he suggested the idea of hanging on the spire of the cathedral a picture of the Holy Family. This picture was not touched by the balls and bullets, and was restored after the siege to the Ursulines, to whom it belonged.

All the attempts of the English failed; in a fierce combat at Beauport they were repulsed. There perished the brave Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène; there, too, forty pupils of the seminary established at St. Joachim by Mgr. de Laval distinguished themselves by their bravery and contributed to the victory. Already Phipps had lost six hundred men. He decided to retreat. To cap the climax of misfortune, his fleet met in the lower part of the river with a horrible storm; several of his ships were driven by the winds as far as the Antilles, and the rest arrived only with great difficulty at Boston. Winthrop's army, disorganized by disease and discord, had already scattered.

A famine which followed the siege tried the whole colony, and Laval had to suffer by it as well as the seminary, for neither had hesitated

before the sacrifices necessary for the general weal. "All the furs and furniture of the Lower Town were in the seminary," wrote the prelate; "a number of families had taken refuge there, even that of the intendant. This house could not refuse in such need all the sacrifices of charity which were possible, at the expense of a great portion of the provisions which were kept there. The soldiers and others have taken and consumed at least one hundred cords of wood and more than fifteen hundred planks. In brief, in cattle and other damages the loss to the seminary will amount to a round thousand crowns. But we must on occasions of this sort be patient, and do all the good we can without regard to future need."

The English were about to suffer still other reverses. In 1691 Major Schuyler, with a small army composed in part of savages, came and surprised below the fort of the Prairie de la Madeleine a camp of between seven and eight hundred soldiers, whose leader, M. de Saint-Cirque, was slain; but the French, recovering, forced the major to retreat, and M. de Valrennes, who hastened up from Chambly with a body of inhabitants and Indians, put the enemy to flight after a fierce struggle. The English failed also in Newfoundland; they were unable to carry Fort Plaisance, which was defended by M. de Brouillan; but he who was to do them most harm was the famous Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, son of Charles Le Moyne. Born in Montreal in 1661, he

subsequently entered the French navy. In the year 1696 he was ordered to drive the enemy out of Newfoundland; he seized the capital, St. John's, which he burned, and, marvellous to relate, with only a hundred and twenty-five men he subdued the whole island, slew nearly two hundred of the English, and took six or seven hundred prisoners. The following year he set out with five ships to take possession of Hudson Bay. One day his vessel found itself alone before Fort Nelson, facing three large ships of the enemy; to the amazement of the English, instead of surrendering, d'Iberville rushes upon them. In a fierce fight lasting four hours, he sinks the strongest, compels the second to surrender, while the third flees under full sail. Fort Bourbon surrendered almost at once, and Hudson Bay was captured.

After the peace d'Iberville explored the mouths of the Mississippi, erected several forts, founded the city of Mobile, and became the first governor of Louisiana. When the war began again, the king gave him a fleet of sixteen vessels to oppose the English in the Indies. He died of an attack of fever in 1706.

During this time, the Iroquois were as dangerous to the French by their inroads and devastations as the Abenaquis were to the English colonies; accordingly Frontenac wished to subdue them. In the summer of 1696, braving the fatigue and privations so hard to bear for a man of his age, Frontenac set out from Ile Perrot with more than two thousand

men, and landed at the mouth of the Oswego River. He found at Onondaga only the smoking remains of the village to which the savages had themselves set fire, and the corpses of two Frenchmen who had died in torture. He marched next against the Oneidas; all had fled at his approach, and he had to be satisfied with laying waste their country. There remained three of the Five Nations to punish, but winter was coming on and Frontenac did not wish to proceed further into the midst of invisible enemies, so he returned to Quebec.

The following year it was learned that the Treaty of Ryswick had just been concluded between France and England. France kept Hudson Bay, but Louis XIV pledged himself to recognize William III as King of England. The Count de Frontenac had not the good fortune of crowning his brilliant career by a treaty with the savages; he died on November 28th, 1698, at the age of seventy-eight years. In reaching this age without exceeding it, he presented a new point of resemblance to his model, Louis the Great, according to whom he always endeavoured to shape his conduct, and who was destined to die at the age of seventy-seven.

NOTE.—The incident of the flag mentioned above on page 230 is treated at greater length in Dr. Le Sueur's *Frontenac*, pp. 295-8, in the "Makers of Canada" series. He takes a somewhat different view of the event.—Ed.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE LABOURS OF OLD AGE

THE peace lasted only four years. M. de Callières, who succeeded Count de Frontenac, was able, thanks to his prudence and the devotion of the missionaries, to gather at Montreal more than twelve hundred Indian chiefs or warriors, and to conclude peace with almost all the tribes. Chief Kondiaronk had become a faithful friend of the French; it was to his good-will and influence that they were indebted for the friendship of a large number of Indian tribes. He died at Montreal during these peaceful festivities and was buried with pomp.

The war was about to break out anew, in 1701, with Great Britain and the other nations of Europe, because Louis XIV had accepted for his grandson and successor the throne of Spain. M. de Callières died at this juncture; his successor, Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, brought the greatest energy to the support in Canada of a struggle which was to end in the dismemberment of the colony. God permitted Mgr. de Laval to die before the Treaty of Utrecht, whose conditions would have torn the patriotic heart of the venerable prelate.

Other reasons for sorrow he did not lack, espe-

cially when Mgr. de Saint-Vallier succeeded, on his visit to the king in 1691, in obtaining a reversal of the policy marked out for the seminary by the first bishop of the colony; this establishment would be in the future only a seminary like any other, and would have no other mission than that of the training of priests. By a decree of the council of February 2nd, 1692, the number of the directors of the seminary was reduced to five, who were to concern themselves principally with the training of young men who might have a vocation for the ecclesiastical life; they might also devote themselves to missions, with the consent of the bishop. No ecclesiastic had the right of becoming an associate of the seminary without the permission of the bishop, within whose province it was to employ the former associates for the service of his diocese with the consent of the superiors. The last part of the decree provided that the four thousand francs given by the king for the diocese of Quebec should be distributed in equal portions, one for the seminary and the two others for the priests and the church buildings. As to the permanence of priests, the decree issued by the king for the whole kingdom was to be adhered to in Canada. In the course of the same year Mgr. de Saint-Vallier obtained, moreover, from the sovereign the authority to open at Quebec in Notre-Dame des Anges, the former convent of the Récollets, a general hospital for the poor, which was entrusted to the nuns of the Hôtel-

Dieu. The poor who might be admitted to it would be employed at work proportionate to their strength, and more particularly in the tilling of the farms belonging to the establishment. If we remember that Mgr. de Laval had consecrated twenty years of his life to giving his seminary, by a perfect union between its members and his whole clergy, a formidable power in the colony, a power which in his opinion could be used only for the good of the Church and in the public interest, and that he now saw his efforts annihilated forever, we cannot help admiring the resignation with which he managed to accept this destruction of his dearest work. And not only did he bow before the impenetrable designs of Providence, but he even used his efforts to pacify those around him whose excitable temperaments might have brought about conflicts with the authorities. The Abbé Gosselin quotes in this connection the following example: "A priest, M. de Francheville, thought he had cause for complaint at the behaviour of his bishop towards him, and wrote him a letter in no measured terms, but he had the good sense to submit it previously to Mgr. de Laval, whom he regarded as his father. The aged bishop expunged from this letter all that might wound Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, and it was sent with the corrections which he desired." The venerable prelate did not content himself with avoiding all that might cause difficulties to his successor; he gave him his whole aid in any circumstances, and in par-

ticular in the foundation of a convent of Ursulines at Three Rivers, and when the general hospital was threatened in its very existence. "Was it not a spectacle worthy of the admiration of men and angels," exclaims the Abbé Fornel in his funeral oration on Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, "to see the first Bishop of Quebec and his successor vieing one with the other in a noble rivalry and in a struggle of religious fervour for the victory in exercises of piety? Have they not both been seen harmonizing and reconciling together the duties of seminarists and canons; of canons by their assiduity in the recitation of the breviary, and of seminarists in condescending to the lowest duties, such as sweeping and serving in the kitchen?" The patience and trust in God of Mgr. de Laval were rewarded by the following letter which he received from Father La Chaise, confessor to King Louis XIV: "I have received with much respect and gratitude two letters with which you have honoured me. I have blessed God that He has preserved you for His glory and the good of the Church in Canada in a period of deadly mortality; and I pray every day that He may preserve you some years more for His service and the consolation of your old friends and servants. I hope that you will maintain towards them to the end your good favour and interest, and that those who would wish to make them lose these may be unable to alter them. You will easily judge how greatly I desire that our Fathers may merit the continuation

of your kindness, and may preserve a perfect union with the priests of your seminary, by the sacrifice which I desire they should make to the latter, in consideration of you, of the post of Tamarois, in spite of all the reasons and the facility for preserving it to them . . . ."

The mortality to which the reverend father alludes was the result of an epidemic which carried off, in 1700, a great number of persons. Old men in particular were stricken, and M. de Bernières among others fell a victim to the scourge. It is very probable that this affliction was nothing less than the notorious influenza which, in these later years, has cut down so many valuable lives throughout the world. The following years were still more terrible for the town; smallpox carried off one-fourth of the population of Quebec. If we add to these trials the disaster of the two conflagrations which consumed the seminary, we shall have the measure of the troubles which at this period overwhelmed the city of Champlain. The seminary, begun in 1678, had just been barely completed. It was a vast edifice of stone, of grandiose appearance; a sun dial was set above a majestic door of two leaves, the approach to which was a fine stairway of cut stone. "The building," wrote Frontenac in 1679, "is very large and has four storeys, the walls are seven feet thick, the cellars and pantries are vaulted, the lower windows have embrasures, and the roof is of slate brought from France." On November 15th,

1701, the priests of the seminary had taken their pupils to St. Michel, near Sillery, to a country house which belonged to them. About one in the afternoon fire broke out in the seminary buildings. The inhabitants hastened up from all directions to the spot and attempted with the greatest energy to stay the progress of the flames. Idle efforts! The larger and the smaller seminary, the priests' house, the chapel barely completed, were all consumed, with the exception of some furniture and a little plate and tapestry. The cathedral was saved, thanks to the efforts of the state engineer, M. Levasseur de Néré, who succeeded in cutting off the communication of the sacred temple with the buildings in flames. Mgr. de Laval, confined then to a bed of pain, avoided death by escaping half-clad; he accepted for a few days, together with the priests of the seminary, the generous hospitality offered them by the Jesuit Fathers. In order not to be too long a burden to their hosts, they caused to be prepared for their lodgment the episcopal palace which had been begun by Mgr. de Saint-Vallier. They removed there on December 4th following. The scholars had been divided between the episcopal palace and the house of the Jesuits. "The prelate," says Sister Juchereau, "bore this affliction with perfect submission to the will of God, without uttering any complaint. It must have been, however, the more grievous to him since it was he who had planned and erected the seminary, since he was its

father and founder, and since he saw ruined in one day the fruit of his labour of many years." Thanks to the generosity of the king, who granted aid to the extent of four thousand francs, it was possible to begin rebuilding at once. But the trials of the priests were not yet over. "On the first day of October, 1705," relate the annals of the Ursulines, "the priests of the seminary were afflicted by a second fire through the fault of a carpenter who was preparing some boards in one end of the new building. While smoking he let fall in a room full of shavings some sparks from his pipe. The fire being kindled, it consumed in less than an hour all the upper storeys. Only those which were vaulted were preserved. The priests estimate that they have lost more in this second fire than in the first. They are lodged below, waiting till Providence furnishes them with the means to restore their building. The Jesuit Fathers have acted this time with the same charity and cordiality as on the former occasion. Mgr. L'Ancien[1] and M. Petit have lived nearly two months in their infirmary. This rest has been very profitable to Monseigneur, for he has come forth from it quite rejuvenated. May the Lord grant that he be preserved a long time yet for the glory of God and the good of Canada!"

When Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem to raise it from its ruins, a great grief seized upon him at the sight of the roofs destroyed, the broken doors,

[1] A respectfully familiar sobriquet given to Mgr. de Laval.

the shattered ramparts of the city of David. In the middle of the night he made the circuit of these ruins, and on the morrow he sought the magistrates and said to them: "You see the distress that we are in? Come, and let us build up the wall of Jerusalem." The same feelings no doubt oppressed the soul of the octogenarian prelate when he saw the walls cracked and blackened, the heaps of ruins, sole remnants of his beloved house. But like Nehemiah he had the support of a great King, and the confidence of succeeding. He set to work at once, and found in the generosity of his flock the means to raise the seminary from its ruins. While he found provisional lodgings for his seminarists, he himself took up quarters in a part of the seminary which had been spared by the flames; he arranged, adjoining his room, a little oratory where he kept the Holy Sacrament, and celebrated mass. There he passed his last days and gave up his fair soul to God.

Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had not like his predecessor the sorrow of seeing fire consume his seminary; he had set out in 1700 for France, and the differences which existed between the two prelates led the monarch to retain Mgr. de Saint-Vallier near him. In 1705 the Bishop of Quebec obtained permission to return to his diocese. But for three years hostilities had already existed between France and England. The bishop embarked with several monks on the *Seine*, a vessel of the Royal Navy. This ship

carried a rich cargo valued at nearly a million francs, and was to escort several merchant ships to their destination at Quebec. The convoy fell in, on July 26th, with an English fleet which gave chase to it; the merchant ships fled at full sail, abandoning the *Seine* to its fate. The commander, M. de Meaupou, displayed the greatest valour, but his vessel, having a leeward position, was at a disadvantage; besides, he had committed the imprudence of so loading the deck with merchandise that several cannon could not be used. In spite of her heroic defence, the *Seine* was captured by boarding, the commander and the officers were taken prisoners, and Mgr. de Saint-Vallier remained in captivity in England till 1710.

The purpose of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier's journey to Europe in 1700 had been his desire to have ratified at Rome by the Holy See the canonical union of his abbeys, and the union of the parish of Quebec with the seminary. On setting out he had entrusted the administration of the diocese to MM. Maizerets and Glandelet; as to ordinations, to the administration of the sacrament of confirmation, and to the consecration of the holy oils, Mgr. de Laval would be always there, ready to lavish his zeal and the treasures of his charity. This long absence of the chief of the diocese could not but impose new labours on Mgr. de Laval. Never did he refuse a sacrifice or a duty, and he saw in this an opportunity to increase the sum of good which

he intended soon to lay at the foot of the throne of the Most High. He was seventy-nine years of age when, in spite of the havoc then wrought by the smallpox throughout the country, he went as far as Montreal, there to administer the sacrament of confirmation. Two years before his death, he officiated pontifically on Easter Day in the cathedral of Quebec. "On the festival of Sainte Magdalene," say the annals of the general hospital, "we have had the consolation of seeing Mgr. de Laval officiate pontifically morning and evening. . . He was accompanied by numerous clergy both from the seminary and from neighbouring missions. . . . We regarded this favour as a mark of the affection cherished by this holy prelate for our establishment, for he was never wont to officiate outside the cathedral, and even there but rarely on account of his great age. He was then more than eighty years old. The presence of a person so venerable by reason of his character, his virtues, and his great age much enhanced this festival. He gave the nuns a special proof of his good-will in the visit which he deigned to make them in the common hall." The predilection which the pious pontiff constantly preserved for the work of the seminary no whit lessened the protection which he generously granted to all the projects of education in the colony; the daughters of Mother Mary of the Incarnation as well as the assistants of Mother Marguerite Bourgeoys had claims upon his affection. He fostered with all his power the establish-

ment of the Sisters of the Congregation, both at Three Rivers and at Quebec. His numerous works left him but little respite, and this he spent at his school of St. Joachim in the refreshment of quiet and rest. Like all holy men he loved youth, and took pleasure in teaching and directing it. Accordingly, during these years when, in spite of the sixteen *lustra* which had passed over his venerable head, he had to take upon himself during the long absence of his successor the interim duties of the diocese, at least as far as the exclusively episcopal functions were concerned, he learned to understand and appreciate at their true value the sacrifices of the Charron Brothers, whose work was unfortunately to remain fruitless.

In 1688 three pious laymen, MM. Jean François Charron, Pierre Le Ber, and Jean Fredin had established in Montreal a house with a double purpose of charity: to care for the poor and the sick, and to train men and send them to open schools in the country districts. Their plan was approved by the king, sanctioned by the bishop of the diocese, encouraged by the seigneurs of the island, and welcomed by all the citizens with gratitude. In spite of these symptoms of future prosperity the work languished, and the members of the community were separated and scattered one after the other. M. Charron did not lose courage. In 1692 he devoted his large fortune to the foundation of a hospital and a school, and received numerous gifts from

charitable persons. Six hospitallers of the order of St. Joseph of the Cross, commonly called Frères Charron, took the gown in 1701, and pronounced their vows in 1704, but the following year they ceased to receive novices. The minister, M. de Pontchartrain, thought "the care of the sick is a task better adapted to women than to men, notwithstanding the spirit of charity which may animate the latter," and he forbade the wearing of the costume adopted by the hospitallers. François Charron, seeing his work nullified, yielded to the inevitable, and confined himself to the training of teachers for country parishes. The existence of this establishment, abandoned by the mother country to its own strength, was to become more and more precarious and feeble. Almost all the hospitallers left the institution to re-enter the world; the care of the sick was entrusted to the Sisters. François Charron made a journey to France in order to obtain the union for the purposes of the hospital of the Brothers of St. Joseph with the Society of St. Sulpice, but he failed in his efforts. He obtained, nevertheless, from the regent an annual subvention of three thousand francs for the training of schoolmasters (1718). He busied himself at once with finding fitting recruits, and collected eight. The elder sister of our excellent normal schools of the present day seemed then established on solid foundations, but it was not to be so. Brother Charron died on the return voyage, and his institution,

though seconded by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, after establishing Brothers in several villages in the environs of Montreal, received from the court a blow from which it did not recover: the regent forbade the masters to assume a uniform dress and to pledge themselves by simple vows. The number of the hospitallers decreased from year to year, and in 1731 the royal government withdrew from them the annual subvention which supported them, however poorly. Finally their institution, after vainly attempting to unite with the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, ceased to exist in 1745.

Mgr. de Laval so greatly admired the devotion of these worthy men that he exclaimed one day: "Let me die in the house of these Brothers; it is a work plainly inspired by God. I shall die content if only in dying I may contribute something to the shaping or maintenance of this establishment." Again he wrote: "The good M. Charron gave us last year one of their Brothers, who rendered great service to the Mississippi Mission, and he has furnished us another this year. These acquisitions will spare the missionaries much labour. . . . I beg you to show full gratitude to this worthy servant of God, who is as affectionately inclined to the missions and missionaries as if he belonged to our body. We have even the plan, as well as he, of forming later a community of their Brothers to aid the missions and accompany the missionaries on their journeys. He goes to France and as far as Paris to

find and bring back with him some good recruits to aid him in forming a community. Render him all the services you can, as if it were to missionaries themselves. He is a true servant of God." Such testimony is the fairest title to glory for an institution.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### LAST YEARS OF MGR. DE LAVAL

ILLNESS had obliged Mgr. de Laval to hand in his resignation. He wrote, in fact, at this period of his life to M. de Denonville: "I have been for the last two years subject to attacks of vertigo accompanied by heart troubles which are very frequent and increase markedly. I have had one quite recently, on the Monday of the Passion, which seized me at three o'clock in the morning, and I could not raise my head from my bed." His infirmities, which he bore to the end with admirable resignation, especially affected his limbs, which he was obliged to bandage tightly every morning, and which could scarcely bear the weight of his body. To disperse the unwholesome humours, his arm had been cauterized; to cut, carve and hack the poor flesh of humanity formed, as we know, the basis of the scientific and medical equipment of the period. These sufferings, which he brought as a sacrifice to our Divine Master, were not sufficient for him; he continued in spite of them to wear upon his body a coarse hair shirt. He had to serve him only one of those Brothers who devoted their labour to the seminary in exchange for their living and a place at table. This modest servant, named

Houssart, had replaced a certain Lemaire, of whom the prelate draws a very interesting portrait in one of his letters: "We must economize," he wrote to the priests of the seminary, "and have only watchful and industrious domestics. We must look after them, else they deteriorate in the seminary. You have the example of the baker, Louis Lemaire, an idler, a gossip, a tattler, a man who, instead of walking behind the coach, would not go unless Monseigneur paid for a carriage for him to follow him to La Rochelle, and lent him his dressing-gown to protect him from the cold. Formerly he worked well at heavy labour at Cap Tourmente; idleness has ruined him in the seminary. As soon as he had reached my room, he behaved like a man worn out, always complaining, coming to help me to bed only when the fancy took him; always extremely vain, thinking he was not dressed according to his position, although he was clad, as you know, more like a nobleman than a peasant, which he was, for I had taken him as a beggar and almost naked at La Rochelle. . . . As soon as he entered my room he sat down, and rather than be obliged to pretend to see him, I turned my seat so as not to see him. . . We should have left that man at heavy work, which had in some sort conquered his folly and pride, and it is possible that he might have been saved. But he has been entirely ruined in the seminary. . . ." This humorous description proves to us well that even in the good old days not all domestics were perfect.

The affectionate and respectful care given by Houssart to his master was such as is not bought with money. Most devoted to the prelate, he has left us a very edifying relation of the life of the venerable bishop, with some touching details. He wrote after his death: "Having had the honour of being continually attached to the service of his Lordship during the last twenty years of his holy life, and his Lordship having had during all that time a great charity towards me and great confidence in my care, you cannot doubt that I contracted a great sympathy, interest and particular attachment for his Lordship." In another letter he speaks to us of the submission of the venerable bishop to the commands of the Church. "He did his best," he writes, "notwithstanding his great age and continual infirmities, to observe all days of abstinence and fasting, both those which are commanded by Holy Church and those which are observed from reasons of devotion in the seminary, and if his Lordship sometimes yielded in this matter to the command of the physicians and the entreaties of the superiors of the seminary, who deemed that he ought not to fast, it was a great mortification for him, and it was only out of especial charity to his dear seminary and the whole of Canada that he yielded somewhat to nature in order not to die so soon. . ."

Never, in spite of his infirmities, would the prelate fail to be present on Sunday at the cathedral

services. When it was impossible for him to go on foot, he had himself carried. His only outings towards the end of his life consisted in his visits to the cathedral or in short walks along the paths of his garden. Whenever his health permitted, he loved to be present at the funerals of those who died in the town; those consolations which he deigned to give to the afflicted families bear witness to the goodness of his heart. "It was something admirable," says Houssart, "to see, firstly, his assiduity in being present at the burial of all who died in Quebec, and his promptness in offering the holy sacrifice of the mass for the repose of their souls, as soon as he had learned of their decease; secondly, his devotion in receiving and preserving the blessed palms, in kissing his crucifix, the image of the Holy Virgin, which he carried always upon him, and placed at nights under his pillow, his badge of servitude and his scapulary which he carried also upon him; thirdly, his respect and veneration for the relics of the saints, the pleasure which he took in reading every day in the *Lives of the Saints*, and in conversing of their heroic deeds; fourthly, the holy and constant use which he made of holy water, taking it wherever he might be in the course of the day and every time he awoke in the night, coming very often from his garden to his room expressly to take it, carrying it upon him in a little silver vessel, which he had had made purposely, when he went to the country. His Lordship had

so great a desire that every one should take it that he exercised particular care in seeing every day whether the vessels of the church were supplied with it, to fill them when they were empty; and during the winter, for fear that the vessels should freeze too hard and the people could not take any as they entered and left the church, he used to bring them himself every evening and place them by our stove, and take them back at four o'clock in the morning when he went to open the doors."

With a touching humility the pious old man scrupulously conformed to the rules of the seminary and to the orders of the superior of the house. Only a few days before his death, he experienced such pain that Brother Houssart declared his intention of going and asking from the superior of the seminary a dispensation for the sick man from being present at the services. At once the patient became silent; in spite of his tortures not a complaint escaped his lips. It was Holy Wednesday: it was impossible to be absent on that day from religious ceremonies. We do not know which to admire most in such an attitude, whether the piety of the prelate or his submission to the superior of the seminary, since he would have been resigned if he had been forbidden to go to church, or, finally, his energy in stifling the groans which suffering wrenched from his physical nature. Few saints carried mortification and renunciation of terrestrial good as far as he. "He is certainly the most

austere man in the world and the most indifferent to wordly advantage," wrote Mother Mary of the Incarnation. "He gives away everything and lives like a pauper; and we may truly say that he has the very spirit of poverty. It is not he who will make friends for worldly advancement and to increase his revenue; he is dead to all that. . . . He practises this poverty in his house, in his living, in his furniture, in his servants, for he has only one gardener, whom he lends to the poor when they need one, and one valet. . ." This picture falls short of the truth. For forty years he arose at two o'clock in the morning, summer and winter: in his last years illness could only wrest from him one hour more of repose, and he arose then at three o'clock. As soon as he was dressed, he remained at prayer till four and then went to church. He opened the doors himself, and rang the bells for mass, which he said, half an hour later, especially for the poor workmen, who began their day by this pious exercise.

His thanksgiving after the holy sacrifice lasted till seven o'clock, and yet, even in the greatest cold of the severe Canadian winter, he had nothing to warm his frozen limbs but the brazier which he had used to celebrate the mass. A good part of his day, and often of the night, when his sufferings deprived him of sleep, was also devoted to prayer or spiritual reading, and nothing was more edifying than to see the pious octogenarian telling his beads or reciting

his breviary while walking slowly through the paths of his garden. He was the first up and the last to retire, and whatever had been his occupations during the day, never did he lie down without having scrupulously observed all the spiritual offices, readings or reciting of beads. It was not, however, that his food gave him a superabundance of physical vigour, for the Trappists did not eat more frugally than he. A soup, which he purposely spoiled by diluting it amply with hot water, a little meat and a crust of very dry bread composed his ordinary fare, and dessert, even on feast days, was absolutely banished from his table. "For his ordinary drink," says Brother Houssart, "he took only hot water slightly flavoured with wine; and every one knows that his Lordship never took either cordial or dainty wines, or any mixture of sweets of any sort whatever, whether to drink or to eat, except that in his last years I succeeded in making him take every evening after his broth, which was his whole supper, a piece of biscuit as large as one's thumb, in a little wine, to aid him to sleep. I may say without exaggeration that his whole life was one continual fast, for he took no breakfast, and every evening only a slight collation. . . . He used his whole substance in alms and pious works; and when he needed anything, such as clothes, linen, etc., he asked it from the seminary like the humblest of his ecclesiastics. He was most modest in matters of dress, and I had great difficulty in preventing him from wearing his

clothes when they were old, dirty and mended. During twenty years he had but two winter cassocks, which he left behind him on his death, the one still quite good, the other all threadbare and mended. To be brief, there was no one in the seminary poorer in dress. . ." Mgr. de Laval set an example of the principal virtues which distinguish the saints; so he could not fail in that which our Lord incessantly recommends to His disciples, charity! He no longer possessed anything of his own, since he had at the outset abandoned his patrimony to his brother, and since later on he had given to the seminary everything in his possession. But charity makes one ingenious: by depriving himself of what was strictly necessary, could he not yet come to the aid of his brothers in Jesus Christ? "Never was prelate," says his eulogist, M. de la Colombière, "more hostile to grandeur and exaltation. . . . In scorning grandeur, he triumphed over himself by a poverty worthy of the anchorites of the first centuries, whose rules he faithfully observed to the end of his days. Grace had so thoroughly absorbed in the heart of the prelate the place of the tendencies of our corrupt nature that he seemed to have been born with an aversion to riches, pleasures and honours. . . . If you have noticed his dress, his furniture and his table, you must be aware that he was a foe to pomp and splendour. There is no village priest in France who is not better nourished, better clad and better lodged

than was the Bishop of Quebec. Far from having an equipage suitable to his rank and dignity he had not even a horse of his own. And when, towards the end of his days, his great age and his infirmities did not allow him to walk, if he wished to go out he had to borrow a carriage. Why this economy? In order to have a storehouse full of garments, shoes and blankets, which he distributed gratuitously, with paternal kindness and prudence. This was a business which he never ceased to ply, in which he trusted only to himself, and with which he concerned himself up to his death."

The charity of the prelate was boundless. Not only at the hospital of Quebec did he visit the poor and console them, but he even rendered them services the most repugnant to nature. "He has been seen," says M. de la Colombière, "on a ship where he behaved like St. François-Xavier, where, ministering to the sailors and the passengers, he breathed the bad air and the infection which they exhaled; he has been seen to abandon in their favour all his refreshments, and to give them even his bed, sheets and blankets. To adminster the sacraments to them he did not fear to expose his life and the lives of the persons who were most dear to him." When he thus attended the sick who were attacked by contagious fever, he did his duty, even more than his duty; but when he went, without absolute need, and shared in the repugnant cares which the most devoted servants of Christ in the hospitals under-

take only after struggles and heroic victory over revolted nature he rose to sublimity. It was because he saw in the poor the suffering members of the Saviour; to love the poor man, it is not enough to wish him well, we must respect him, and we cannot respect him as much as any child of God deserves without seeing in him the image of Jesus Christ himself. No one acquires love for God without being soon wholly enkindled by it; thus it was no longer sufficient for Mgr. de Laval to instruct and console the poor and the sick, he served them also in the most abject duties, going as far as to wash with his own hands their sores and ulcers. A madman, the world will say; why not content one's self with attending those people without indulging in the luxury of heroism so repugnant? This would have sufficed indeed to relieve nature, but would it have taught those incurable and desperate cases that they were the first friends of Jesus Christ, that the Church looked upon them as its jewels, and that their fate from the point of view of eternity was enviable to all? It would have relieved without consoling and raising the poor man to the height which belongs to him in Christian society. Official assistance, with the best intentions in the world, the most ingenious organization and the most perfect working, can, however, never be charity in the perfectly Christian sense of this word. If it could allay all needs and heal all sores it would still have accomplished only half of the task: relieving the

body without reaching the soul. And man does not live by bread alone. He who has been disinherited of the boons of fortune, family and health, he who is incurable and who despairs of human joys needs something else besides the most comfortable hospital room that can be imagined; he needs the words which fell from the lips of God: "Blessed are the poor, blessed are they that suffer, blessed are they that mourn." He needs a pitying heart, a tender witness to indigence nobly borne, a respectful friend of his misfortune, still more than that, a worshipper of Jesus hidden in the persons of the poor, the orphan and the sick. They have become rare in the world, these real friends of the poor; the more assistance has become organized, the more charity seems to have lost its true nature; and perhaps we might find in this state of things a radical explanation for those implacable social antagonisms, those covetous desires, those revolts followed by endless repression, which bring about revolutions, and by them all manner of tyranny. Let us first respect the poor, let us love them, let us sincerely admire their condition as one ennobled by God, if we wish them to become reconciled with Him, and reconciled with the world. When the rich man is a Christian, generous and respectful of the poor, when he practises the virtues which most belong to his social position, the poor man is very near to conforming to those virtues which Providence makes his more immediate duty, hu-

mility, obedience, resignation to the will of God and trust in Him and in those who rule in His name. The solution of the great social problem lies, as it seems to us, in the spiritual love of the poor. Outside of this, there is only the heathen slave below, and tyranny above with all its terrors. That is what religious enthusiasm foresaw in centuries less well organized but more religious than ours.

## CHAPTER XIX

### DEATH OF MGR. DE LAVAL

THE end of a great career was now approaching. In the summer of 1707, a long and painful illness nearly carried Mgr. de Laval away, but he recovered, and convalescence was followed by manifest improvement. This soul which, like the lamp of the sanctuary, was consumed in the tabernacle of the Most High, revived suddenly at the moment of emitting its last gleams, then suddenly died out in final brilliance. The improvement in the condition of the venerable prelate was ephemeral; the illness which had brought him to the threshold of the tomb proved fatal some weeks later. He died in the midst of his labours, happy in proving by the very origin of the disease which brought about his death, his great love for the Saviour. It was, in fact, in prolonging on Good Friday his pious stations in his chilly church (for our ancestors did not heat their churches, even in seasons of rigorous cold), that he received in his heel the frost-bite of which he died. Such is the name the writers of the time give to this sore; in our days, when science has defined certain maladies formerly misunderstood, it is permissible to suppose that this so-called frost-bite was nothing else than diabetic gangrene. No illu-

sion could be cherished, and the venerable old man, who had not, so to speak, passed a moment of his existence without thinking of death, needed to adapt himself to the idea less than any one else. In order to have nothing more to do than to prepare for his last hour he hastened to settle a question which concerned his seminary: he reduced definitely to eight the number of pensions which he had established in it in 1680. This done, it remained for him now only to suffer and die. The ulcer increased incessantly and the continual pains which he felt became atrocious when it was dressed. His intolerable sufferings drew from him, nevertheless, not cries and complaints, but outpourings of love for God. Like Saint Vincent de Paul, whom the tortures of his last malady could not compel to utter other words than these: "Ah, my Saviour! my good Saviour!" Mgr. de Laval gave vent to these words only: "O, my God! have pity on me! O God of Mercy!" and this cry, the summary of his whole life: "Let Thy holy will be done!" One of the last thoughts of the dying man was to express the sentiment of his whole life, humility. Some one begged him to imitate the majority of the saints, who, on their death-bed, uttered a few pious words for the edification of their spiritual children. "They were saints," he replied, "and I am a sinner." A speech worthy of Saint Vincent de Paul, who, about to appear before God, replied to the person who requested his blessing, "It is not for me, unworthy

wretch that I am, to bless you." The fervour with which he received the last sacraments aroused the admiration of all the witnesses of this supreme hour. They almost expected to see this holy soul take flight for its celestial mansion. As soon as the prayers for the dying had been pronounced, he asked to have the chaplets of the Holy Family recited, and during the recitation of this prayer he gave up his soul to his Creator. It was then half-past seven in the morning, and the sixth day of the month consecrated to the Holy Virgin, whom he had so loved (May, 1708).

It was with a quiver of grief which was felt in all hearts throughout the colony that men learned the fatal news. The banks of the great river repeated this great woe to the valleys; the sad certainty that the father of all had disappeared forever sowed desolation in the homes of the rich as well as in the thatched huts of the poor. A cry of pain, a deep sob arose from the bosom of Canada which would not be consoled, because its incomparable bishop was no more! Etienne de Citeaux said to his monks after the death of his holy predecessor: "Alberic is dead to our eyes, but he is not so to the eyes of God, and dead though he appear to us, he lives for us in the presence of the Lord; for it is peculiar to the saints that when they go to God through death, they bear their friends with them in their hearts to preserve them there forever." This is our dearest desire; the friends of the venerable prelate were and

still are to-day his own Canadians: may he remain to the end of the ages our protector and intercessor with God!

There were attributed to Mgr. de Laval, according to Latour and Brother Houssart, and a witness who would have more weight, M. de Glandelet, a priest of the seminary of Quebec, whose account was unhappily lost, a great number of miraculous cures. Our purpose is not to narrate them; we have desired to repeat only the wonders of his life in order to offer a pattern and encouragement to all who walk in his steps, and in order to pay the debt of gratitude which we owe to the principal founder of the Catholic Church in our country.

The body of Mgr. de Laval lay in state for three days in the chapel of the seminary, and there was an immense concourse of the people about his mortuary bed, rather to invoke him than to pray for his soul. His countenance remained so beautiful that one would have thought him asleep; that imposing brow so often venerated in the ceremonies of the Church preserved all its majesty. But alas! that aristocratic hand, which had blessed so many generations, was no longer to raise the pastoral ring over the brows of bowing worshippers; that eloquent mouth which had for half a century preached the gospel was to open no more; those eyes with look so humble but so straightforward were closed forever! "He is regretted by all as if death had carried him off in the flower of his age," says a chroni-

cle of the time, "it is because virtue does not grow old." The obsequies of the prelate were celebrated with a pomp still unfamiliar in the colony; the body, clad in the pontifical ornaments, was carried on the shoulders of priests through the different religious edifices of Quebec before being interred. All the churches of the country celebrated solemn services for the repose of the soul of the first Bishop of New France. Placed in a leaden coffin, the revered remains were sepulchred in the vaults of the cathedral, but the heart of Mgr. de Laval was piously kept in the chapel of the seminary, and later, in 1752, was transported into the new chapel of this house. The funeral orations were pronounced, which recalled with eloquence and talent the services rendered by the venerable deceased to the Church, to France and to Canada. One was delivered by M. de la Colombière, archdeacon and grand vicar of the diocese of Quebec; the other by M. de Belmont, grand vicar and superior of St. Sulpice at Montreal.

Those who had the good fortune to be present in the month of May, 1878, at the disinterment of the remains of the revered pontiff and at their removal to the chapel of the seminary where, according to his intentions, they repose to-day, will recall still with emotion the pomp which was displayed on this solemn occasion, and the fervent joy which was manifested among all classes of society. An imposing procession conveyed them, as at the

time of the seminary obsequies, to the Ursulines; from the convent of the Ursulines to the Jesuit Fathers', next to the Congregation of St. Patrick, to the Hôtel-Dieu, and finally to the cathedral, where a solemn service was sung in the presence of the apostolic legate, Mgr. Conroy. The Bishop of Sherbrooke, M. Antoine Racine, pronounced the eulogy of the first prelate of the colony.

The remains of Mgr. de Laval rested then in peace under the choir of the chapel of the seminary behind the principal altar. On December 16th, 1901, the vault was opened by order of the commission entrusted by the Holy See with the conduct of the apostolic investigation into the virtues and miracles *in specie* of the founder of the Church in Canada. The revered remains, which were found in a perfect state of preservation, were replaced in three coffins, one of glass, the second of oak, and the third of lead, and lowered into the vault. The opening was closed by a brick wall, well cemented, concealed between two iron gates. There they rest until, if it please God to hear the prayers of the Catholic population of our country, they may be placed upon the altars. This examination of the remains of the venerable prelate was the last act in his apostolic ordeal, for we are aware with what precaution the Church surrounds herself and with what prudence she scrutinizes the most minute details before giving a decision in the matter of canonization. The documents in the case of Mgr. de

Laval have been sent to the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Rites at Rome; and from there will come to us, let us hope, the great news of the canonization of the first Bishop of New France.

Sleep your sleep, revered prelate, worthy son of crusaders and noble successor of the apostles. Long and laborious was your task, and you have well merited your repose beneath the flagstones of your seminary. Long will the sons of future generations go there to spell out your name,—the name of an admirable pastor, and, as the Church will tell us doubtless before long, of a saint.

# INDEX

# INDEX


A

Ailleboust, M. d', governor of New France, 8

Albanel, Father, missionary to the Indians at Hudson Bay, 11, 103

Alexander VII, Pope, appoints Laval apostolic vicar with the title of Bishop of Petræa *in partibus*, 7, 26; petitioned by the king to erect an episcopal see in Quebec, 131; wants the new diocese to be an immediate dependency of the Holy See, 133

Alexander of Rhodes, Father, 23

Algonquin Indians, 2, 9, 11

Allard, Father, Superior of the Récollets in the province of St. Denis, 109, 110

Allouez, Father Claude, 11; addresses the mission at Sault Ste. Marie, 104

Anahotaha, Huron chief, joins Dollard, 69, 71

Andros, Sir Edmund, governor of New England, 173

Argenson, Governor d', 29; his continual friction with Laval, 34; disapproves of the retreat of Captain Dupuis from the mission of Gannentaha, 67

Arnaud, Father, accompanies La Vérendrye as far as the Rocky Mountains, 11

Assise, François d', founder of the Franciscans, 18

Aubert, M., on the French-Canadians, 118, 119

Auteuil, Denis Joseph Ruette d', solicitor-general of the Sovereign Council, 167

Avaugour, Governor d', withdraws his opposition to the liquor trade and is recalled, 38–40; his last report, 40; references, 10, 28

B

Bagot, Father, head of the college of La Flèche, 20

Bailly, François, directs the building of the Notre-Dame Church, 88

Bancroft, George, historian, quoted, 4, 5, 152, 153

Beaudoncourt, Jacques de, quoted, 39; describes the escape of the Gannentaha mission from the massacre of 1658, 66, 67

Beaumont, Hardouin de Péréfixe de, Archbishop of Paris, 134

Belmont, M. de, his charitable works, 135, 136; preaches Laval's funeral oration, 265

Bernières, Henri de, first superior of the Quebec seminary, 55, 56; entrusted with Laval's duties during his absence, 134, 143, 162; appointed dean of the chapter established by Laval, 197; his death, 239

Bernières, Jean de, his religious

retreat at Caen, 24, 25 ; referred to, 33, 34
Berthelot, M., rents the abbey of Lestrées from Laval, 138 ; exchanges Ile Jésus for the Island of Orleans, 138
Bishop of Petræa, see *Laval-Montmorency*
Bouchard, founder of the house of Montmorency, 16
Boucher, governor of Three Rivers, 29
Boudon, Abbé Henri-Marie, archdeacon of the Cathedral of Evreux, 23
Bourdon, solicitor-general, 79
Bourgard, Mgr., quoted, 61
Bourgeoys, Sister Marguerite, founds a school in Montreal which grows into the Ville-Marie Convent, 9, 126 ; on board the plague-stricken *St. André*, 31, 32 ; as a teacher, 91, 92, 156 ; through her efforts the church of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours is erected, 177, 178
Bouteroue, M. de, commissioner during Talon's absence, 116
Brebeuf, Father, his persecution and death, 5, 16, 62
Bretonvilliers, M. de, superior of St. Sulpice, 88, 89, 135, 162
Briand, Mgr., Bishop of Quebec, 12
Bizard, Lieutenant, dispatched by Frontenac to arrest the lawbreakers and insulted by Perrot, 160
Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, the, 125
Brulon, Jean Gauthier de, confessor of the chapter established by Laval, 197

C

Caen, the town of, 24
Callières, Chevalier de, governor of Montreal, 214 ; lays before the king a plan to conquer New York, 218 ; at Quebec when attacked by Phipps, 229 ; makes peace with the Indians, 235 ; his death, 235
Canons, the duties of, 196, 197
Carignan Regiment, the, 53, 77, 79, 114
Carion, M. Philippe de, 88
Cataraqui, Fort (Kingston), built by Frontenac and later called after him, 84, 145 ; conceded to La Salle, 145
Cathedral of Quebec, the, 84, 85
Champigny, M. de, commissioner, replaces Meulles, 204, 215
Champlain, Samuel de, governor of New France and founder of Quebec, 4, 8, 12
Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier de, on colonization, 117, 118 ; his portrait of Frontenac, 144, 145
Charron Brothers, the, make an unsuccessful attempt to establish a charitable house in Montreal, 125, 245-8
Château St. Louis, 112, 160, 163
Chaumonot, Father, 65 ; the head of the Brotherhood of the Holy Family, 86, 87
Chevestre, Françoise de, wife of Jean-Louis de Laval, 139
Clement X, Pope, 133 ; signs the

bulls establishing the diocese of Quebec, 136
Closse, Major, 8, 92
Colbert, Louis XIV's prime minister, 52 ; a letter from Villeray to, 77, 78 ; opposes Talon's immigration plans, 80 ; receives a letter from Talon, 107 ; Talon's proposals to, 115 ; a dispatch from Frontenac to, 161 ; reproves Frontenac's overbearing conduct, 165 ; asks for proof of the evils of the liquor traffic, 170, 171
Collège de Clermont, 21, 22
College of Montreal, the, 124, 125
Colombière, M. de la, quoted, 23, 256, 257
Company of Montreal, the, 25 ; its financial obligations taken up by the Seminary of St. Sulpice, 135
Company of Notre-Dame of Montreal, 85, 108, 127, 189
Company of the Cent Associés, founded by Richelieu, 4 ; incapable of colonizing New France, abandons it to the royal government, 40, 41 ; assists the missionaries, 50 ; a portion of its obligations undertaken by the West India Company, 145
Consistorial Congregation of Rome, the, 132
Couillard, Madame, the house of, 58
Courcelles, M. de, appointed governor in de Mézy's place, 51 ; acts as godfather to Garakontié, Indian chief, 65 ; an instance of his firmness, 82, 83 ; meets the Indian chiefs at Cataraqui, and gains their approval of building a fort there, 84 ; succeeded by Frontenac, 84 ; lays the corner-stone of the Notre-Dame Church in Montreal, 88 ; returns to France, 143
*Coureurs de bois*, the, 158, 159
Crèvecœur, Fort, 148, 149

D

Dablon, Father, 11, 62, 65 ; describes Laval's visit to the Prairie de la Madeleine, 74, 75 ; quoted, 103, 140
Damours, M., member of the Sovereign Council, 158, 166 ; imprisoned by Frontenac, 167
Daniel, Father, his death, 5
Denonville, Marquis de, succeeds de la Barre, 193, 202, 204 ; urges Laval's return to Canada, 213 ; his expedition against the Iroquois, 214–16 ; seizes Indian chiefs to serve on the king's galleys, 214, 215 ; builds a fort at Niagara, 216 ; recalled, 218
Dequen, Father, 32, 33
Dollard, makes a brave stand against the Iroquois, 39, 68–72, 75 (note)
Dollier de Casson, superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, 11 ; at the laying of the first stone of the Church of Notre-Dame, 89 ; preaching on the shores of Lake Erie, 108 ; joined by La Salle, 148 ; speaks of the liquor traffic, 175 ; at Quebec, 190
Dongan, Colonel Thomas, governor of New York, urges the Iroquois to strife, 185, 191, 213, 216

Dosquet, Mgr. de, Bishop of Quebec, 12
Druillètes, Father, 11
Duchesneau, intendant, his disputes with Frontenac upon the question of President of the Council, 166, 167 ; recalled, 168, 185 ; asked by Colbert for proof of the evils of the liquor traffic, 170, 171 ; instructed by the king to avoid discord with La Barre, 186, 187
Dudouyt, Jean, director of the Quebec seminary, 55, 56, 134, 143, 163 ; his mission to France in relation to the liquor traffic, 171 ; grand cantor of the chapter established by Laval, 197 ; his death, 219 ; burial of his heart in Quebec, 219
Dupont, M., member of the Sovereign Council, 158, 166
Dupuis, Captain, commander of the mission at Gannentaha, 65 ; how he saved the mission from the general massacre of 1658, 65–7

E

Earthquake of 1663, 42–5 ; its results, 45, 46

F

Famine Creek, 193, 217
Fénelon, Abbé de, see *Salignac-Fénelon*
Ferland, Abbé, quoted, 35 ; on the education of the Indians, 63, 64 ; his tribute to Mother Mary of the Incarnation, 93–5 ; on Talon's ambitions, 114 ; quoted, 130 ; his opinion of the erection of an episcopal see at Quebec, 133 ; on the union of the Quebec Seminary with that of the Foreign Missions in Paris, 140 ; on La Salle's misfortunes, 149 ; quoted, 155 ; praises Laval's stand against the liquor traffic, 173 ; on Laval's return to Canada, 220
Five Nations, the, sue for peace, 53 ; missions to, 65 ; references, 217, 223, 234
French-Canadians, their physical and moral qualities, 118, 119 ; habits and dress, 120 ; houses, 120, 121 ; as hunters, 121, 122
Frontenac, Fort, 84, 215, 217, 223
Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Count de, governor of Canada, 16 ; builds Fort Cataraqui, 84, 145 ; succeeds Courcelles, 84, 143 ; his disputes with Duchesneau, 112, 166, 167 ; early career, 144 ; Charlevoix's portrait of, 144, 145 ; orders Perrot's arrest, 160 ; his quarrel with the Abbé de Fénelon, 160–5 ; reproved by the king for his absolutism, 164, 165 ; his recall, 168, 185 ; succeeds in having permanent livings established, 181 ; again appointed governor, 218, 228 ; carries on a guerilla warfare with the Iroquois, 228, 229 ; defends Quebec against Phipps, 129–31 ; attacks the Iroquois, 233, 234 ; his death, 234

G

Gallinée, Brehan de, Sulpician priest, 11, 105, 108, 148
Gannentaha, the mission at, 65 ;

how it escaped the general massacre of 1658, 65–7
Garakontié, Iroquois chief, his conversion, 65 ; his death, 73, 74
Garnier, Father Charles, his death, 5
Garreau, Father, 11
Gaudais-Dupont, M., 41
Glandelet, Charles, 141, 197, 218 ; in charge of the diocese during Saint-Vallier's absence, 243
Gosselin, Abbé, quoted, 35 ; his explanation of Laval's *mandement*, 49, 50 ; quoted, 58, 59 ; on the question of permanent livings, 169, 170

H

Harlay, Mgr. de, Archbishop of Rouen, opposes Laval's petition for an episcopal see at Quebec, 133 ; called to the see of Paris, 134 ; his death, 184
Hermitage, the, a religious retreat, 24, 25
Hôtel-Dieu Hospital (Montreal), established by Mlle. Mance, 8
Hôtel-Dieu, Sisters of the, 33, 210, 236
Houssart, Laval's servant, 250, 251, 252, 253, 255, 264
Hudson Bay, explored by Father Albanel, 11, 103 ; English forts on, captured by Troyes, 204, 214; Iberville's expedition to, 233
Hurons, the, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 39 ; forty of them join Dollard, 69 ; but betray him, 70, 71 ; they suffer a well-deserved fate, 72

I

Iberville, Le Moyne d', takes part in an expedition to capture Hudson Bay, 204, 233 ; attacks the English settlements in Newfoundland, 233 ; explores the mouths of the Mississippi, founds the city of Mobile, and becomes the first governor of Louisiana, 233 ; his death, 233
Ile Jésus, 58, 185, 189
Illinois Indians, 148
Innocent XI, Pope, 201
Iroquois, the 2 ; their attacks on the missions, 5 ; persecute the missionaries, 8 ; conclude a treaty of peace with de Tracy which lasts eighteen years, 54, 82 ; their contemplated attack on the mission of Gannentaha, 65 ; make an attack upon Quebec, 67-72 ; threaten to re-open their feud with the Ottawas, 83 ; urged to war by Dongan, 185, 191 ; massacre the tribes allied to the French, 191 ; descend upon the colony, 191, 192 ; La Barre's expedition against, 193 ; Denonville's expedition against, 214 ; several seized to serve on the king's galleys, 214, 215 ; their massacre of Lachine, 224–7

J

Jesuits, the, their entry into New France, 1 ; their self-sacrificing labours, 4 ; in possession of all the missions of New France, 25 ; as educators, 63 ; their devotion to the Virgin Mary, 85 ; religious zeal, 109 ; provide instruction for the colonists, 124 ; at the defence of Quebec, 230 ; shelter the

seminarists after the fire, 240, 241
Joliet, Louis, with Marquette, explores the upper part of the Mississippi, 11, 59, 82, 146, 153
Jogues, Father, his persecution and death, 5, 62, 65
Juchereau, Sister, quoted, 240, 241

K

Kingston, see *Cataraqui*
Kondiaronk (the Rat), Indian chief, his duplicity upsets peace negotiations with the Iroquois, 216–18; his death, 235

L

La Barre, Lefebvre de, replaces Frontenac as governor, 168, 185; holds an assembly at Quebec to inquire into the affairs of the colony, 190; demands reinforcements, 191; his useless expedition against the Iroquois, 193; his recall, 193
La Chaise, Father, confessor to Louis XIV, 174, 238
La Chesnaie, M. Aubert de, 186
Lachesnaie, village, massacred by the Iroquois, 228
Lachine, 116, 147, 148; the massacre of, 225–7
La Flèche, the college of, 19, 20
Lalemant, Father Gabriel, his persecution and death, 5, 62; his account of the great earthquake, 42–5; references, 16, 35, 38
Lamberville, Father, describes the death of Garakontié, Indian chief, 74; 215
La Montagne, the mission of, at Montreal, 9, 74, 125
La Mouche, Huron Indian, deserts Dollard, 71
Lanjuère, M. de, quoted, 24, 135
La Rochelle, 26, 77, 114, 116, 202, 219
La Salle, Cavelier de, 16, 116; Fort Cataraqui conceded to, 145; his birth, 147; comes to New France, 147; establishes a trading-post at Lachine, 147, 148; starts on his expedition to the Mississippi, 148; returns to look after his affairs at Fort Frontenac, 149; back to Crèvecœur and finds it deserted, 149; descends the Mississippi, 150; raises a cross on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico and takes possession in the name of the King of France, 151; spends a year in establishing trading-posts among the Illinois, 151; visits France, 151; his misfortunes, 152; is murdered by one of his servants, 152; Bancroft's appreciation of, 152, 153; his version of the Abbé de Fénelon's sermon, 160, 161
Latour, Abbé de, quoted, 33; on the liquor question, 36–8; *re* the Sovereign Council, 40; describes the characteristics of the young colonists, 100; on Laval, 187, 188, 264
Lauson-Charny, M. de, director of the Quebec Seminary, 55, 134
Laval, Anne Charlotte de, only sister of Bishop Laval, 19
Laval, Fanchon (Charles-François-

Guy), nephew of the bishop, 140

Laval, Henri de, brother of Bishop Laval, 19, 21, 139, 141

Laval, Hugues de, Seigneur of Montigny, etc., father of Bishop Laval, 17; his death, 18

Laval, Jean-Louis de, receives the bishop's inheritance, 19, 21, 22, 139

Laval-Montmorency, François de, first Bishop of Quebec, his birth and ancestors, 17; death of his father, 18; his education, 19–21; death of his two brothers, 21; his mother begs him, on becoming the head of the family, to abandon his ecclesiastical career, 21; renounces his inheritance in favour of his brother Jean-Louis, 21, 22; his ordination, 22; appointed archdeacon of the Cathedral of Evreux, 22; spends fifteen months in Rome, 23; three years in the religious retreat of M. de Bernières, 24, 25; embarks for New France with the title of Bishop of Petræa *in partibus*, 26; disputes his authority with the Abbé de Queylus, 27, 28; given the entire jurisdiction of Canada, 28; his personality and appearance, 28, 29; his devotion to the plague-stricken, 33; private life, 33, 34; friction with d'Argenson on questions of precedence, 34; opposes the liquor trade with the savages, 36–9; carries an appeal to the throne against the liquor traffic, 39; returns to Canada, 41; his efforts to establish a seminary at Quebec, 47–50; obtains an ordinance from the king granting the seminary permission to collect tithes, 50; receives letters from Colbert and the king, 52, 53; takes up his abode in the seminary, 55; his pastoral visits, 74, 75, 87; founds the smaller seminary in 1668, 97–9; his efforts to educate the colonists, 97–100, 124; builds the first sanctuary of Sainte Anne, 101; his ardent desire for more missionaries is granted, 104, 105; his advice to the missionaries, 105–7; receives a letter from the king *re* the Récollet priests, 110; created Bishop of Quebec (1674), 129; his reasons for demanding the title of Bishop of Quebec, 130, 131; visits the abbeys of Maubec and Lestrées, 138; leases the abbey of Lestrées to M. Berthelot, 138; exchanges the Island of Orleans for Ile Jésus, 138; visits his family, 139; renews the union of his seminary with that of the Foreign Missions, 140; returns to Canada after four years absence, 141; ordered by the king to investigate the evils of the liquor traffic, 171, 172; leaves again for France (1678), 173; acquires from the king a slight restriction over the liquor traffic, 174; confers a favour on the priests of St. Sulpice, 175, 176; returns to Canada (1680), 184, 186; wills all that he possesses to

his seminary, 185 ; makes a pastoral visit of his diocese, 189 ; his ill-health, 190 ; writes to the king for reinforcements, 191, 192 ; decides to carry his resignation in person to the king, 196 ; establishes a chapter, 197, 198 ; sails for France, 198 ; to remain titular bishop until the consecration of his successor, 201 ; returns to Canada, 202, 220 ; ill-health, 205 ; reproves Saint-Vallier's extravagance, 206 ; an appreciation of, by Saint-Vallier, 209 ; a letter from Father La Chaise to, 238, 239 ; officiates during Saint-Vallier's absence, 244 ; his last illness, 249-53, 261, 262 ; his death, 263 ; and burial, 264–6

Laval University, 15, 99, 124

Leber, Mlle. Jeanne, 91, 92

Le Caron, Father, Récollet missionary, 3

Lejeune, Father, 25

Lemaître, Father, put to death by the Iroquois, 8 ; ministers to the plague-stricken on board the *St. André*, 31, 32

*Le Soleil d'Afrique*, 219

Lestrées, the abbey of, 136, 138, 185

Liquor traffic, the, forbidden by the Sovereign Council, 36 ; opposed by Laval, 36–9 ; the Sovereign Council gives unrestricted sway to, 113 ; again restricted by the council, 115, 116 ; a much discussed question, 169–75

Lorette, the village of, 74

Lotbinière, Louis René de, member of the Sovereign Council, 166

Louis XIV of France, recalls d'Avaugour, and sends more troops to Canada, 39 ; writes to Laval, 52, 53 ; petitions the Pope for the erection of an episcopal see in Quebec, 131, 132 ; demands that the new diocese shall be dependent upon the metropolitan of Rouen, 132, 133 ; granted the right of nomination to the bishopric of Quebec, 136 ; his decree of 1673, 159, 160 ; reproves Frontenac for his absolutism, 164, 165 ; orders Frontenac to investigate the evils of the liquor traffic, 171, 172 ; forbids intoxicating liquors being carried to the savages in their dwellings or in the woods, 174 ; contributes to the maintenance of the priests in Canada, 182, 183 ; his efforts to keep the Canadian officials in harmony, 186, 187 ; sends reinforcements, 192 ; grants Laval an annuity for life, 201 ; at war again, 235

M

Maisonneuve, M. de, governor of Montreal, 8, 16, 92, 176

Maizerets, M. Ange de, comes to Canada, 41 ; director of the Quebec seminary, 55, 56 ; accompanies Laval on a tour of his diocese, 189 ; archdeacon of the chapter established by Laval, 197 ; in charge of the diocese during Saint-Vallier's absence, 243

Mance, Mlle., establishes the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital in Montreal, 8 ; on board the plague-stricken *St.*

*André*, 31; at the laying of the first stone of the church of Notre-Dame, 89; her death, 89; her religious zeal, 91, 92

Maricourt, Le Moyne de, 16; takes part in an expedition to capture Hudson Bay, 204

Marquette, Father, with Joliet explores the upper part of the Mississippi, 11, 59, 82, 146, 153; his death, 146, 147

Maubec, the abbey of, 131; incorporated with the diocese of Quebec, 136; a description of, 137

Membré, Father, descends the Mississippi with La Salle, 149, 150, 151

Mesnu, Peuvret de, secretary of the Sovereign Council, 158, 166

Métiomègue, Algonquin chief, joins Dollard, 69

Meulles, M. de, replaces Duchesneau as commissioner, 168, 185; replaced by Champigny, 204

Mézy, Governor de, 10; succeeds d'Avaugour, 41; disagrees with the bishop, 51; his death, 51, 52

Michilimackinac, 146, 149, 216

Millet, Father, pays a tribute to Garakontié, 73; 215

Mississippi River, explored by Marquette and Joliet as far as the Arkansas River, 11, 59, 82, 146; La Salle descends to its mouth, 150, 151

Monsipi, Fort (Hudson Bay), captured by the French, 204

Montigny, Abbé de, one of Laval's early titles, 7, 19

Montigny-sur-Avre, Laval's birthplace, 17

Montmagny, M. de, governor of New France, 8

Montmorency, Henri de, near kinsman of Laval, 18; beheaded by the order of Richelieu, 18

Montreal, the Island of, 8, 86; made over to the Sulpicians, 108, 175; the parishes of, united with the Seminary of St. Sulpice, 175, 176, 183

Montreal, the mission of La Montagne at, 9, 74; its first Roman Catholic church, 87–90; its religious zeal, 90–2; see also *Ville-Marie*

Morel, Thomas, director of the Quebec seminary, 55, 101; his arrest, 163; set at liberty, 164; his death, 219

Morin, M., quoted, 89, 90

Mornay, Mgr. de, Bishop of Quebec, 12

Mother Mary of the Incarnation, on Laval's devotion to the sick, 33; on his private life, 34, 254; on the results of the great earthquake, 45, 46; on the work of the Sisters, 79, 80; her religious zeal and fine qualities, 92, 93; Abbé Ferland's appreciation of, 93–5; speaks of the work of Abbé Fénelon and Father Trouvé, 109; on the liquor traffic, 113; sums up Talon's merits, 114; speaks of the colonists' children, 119; on civilizing the Indians, 125, 126; an appreciation of, by Abbé

Verreau, 127; her death, 154; her noble character, 155
Mouchy, M. de, member of the Sovereign Council, 158

N

Nelson, Fort (Hudson Bay), held by the English against de Troyes' expedition, 204; captured by Iberville, 233
Newfoundland, English settlements attacked by Iberville, 232
Notre-Dame Church (Montreal), 87–90, 176
Notre-Dame de Bonsecours, chapel (Montreal), 176–9
Notre-Dame de Montréal, the parish of, 175, 176
Notre-Dame des Victoires, church of, 185
Noue, Father de, his death, 5

O

Oblate Fathers, their entry into New France, 1
Olier, M., founder of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, 5, 6, 25; places the Island of Montreal under the protection of the Holy Virgin, 8, 85; his death, 135; succeeded by Bretonvilliers, 162
Onondagas, the, 67
Ottawa Indians, threaten to re-open their feud with the Iroquois, 83; 215

P

Pallu, M., 23
Parkman, Francis, quoted, 34, 35
Péricard, Mgr. de, Bishop of Evreux, 21; his death, 22
Péricard, Michelle de, mother of Bishop Laval, 17; her death, 26
Peltrie, Madame de la, 92; establishes the Ursuline Convent in Quebec, 125; a description of, by Abbé Casgrain, 153, 154; her death, 154
Permanence of livings, a much discussed question, 169, 181, 184, 236
Perrot, François Marie, governor of Montreal, 89; his anger at Bizard, 160; arrested by Frontenac, 160, 164
Perrot, Nicholas, explorer, 82
Peyras, M. de, member of the Sovereign Council, 166
Phipps, Sir William, attacks Quebec, 11, 229–31
Picquet, M., 23
Plessis, Mgr., Bishop of Quebec, 13
Pommier, Hugues, comes to Canada, 41; director of the Quebec seminary, 55
Pontbriant, Mgr. de, Bishop of Quebec, 12
Pourroy de l'Aube-Rivière, Mgr., Bishop of Quebec, 12
Prairie de la Madeleine, 74, 232
Propaganda, the, 130, 131
Prudhomme, Fort, erected by La Salle, 150

Q

Quebec, attacked by Phipps, 11, 229–31; the bishops of, 12; attacked by the Iroquois, 67–72; arrival of colonists (1665), 78, 79; the cathedral of, 84, 85; its religious fervour, 92; the Lower

Town consumed by fire, 186; overwhelmed by disease and fire, 239
Quebec Act, the, 13
Queylus, Abbé de, Grand Vicar of Rouen for Canada, 7; comes to take possession of the Island of Montreal for the Sulpicians, and to establish a seminary, 8; disputes Laval's authority, 27; goes to France, 27; returns with bulls placing him in possession of the parish of Montreal, 28; suspended from office by Bishop Laval and recalled to France, 28; returns to the colony and is appointed grand vicar at Montreal, 28; his religious zeal, 92; his generosity, 107; returns to France, 134; his work praised by Talon, 134

R

Rafeix, Father, comes to Canada, 41
Récollets, the, their entry into New France, 1; refused permission to return to Canada after the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 3, 110; propose St. Joseph as the patron saint of Canada, 87; their popularity, 111, 112; build a monastery in Quebec, 112; espouse Frontenac's cause in his disputes with Duchesneau, 112; provide instruction for the colonists, 124; their establishment in Quebec, 208
*Régale*, the question of the right of 184, 201
Ribourde, Father de la, 149; killed by the Iroquois, 149, 150
Richelieu, Cardinal, founds the Company of the Cent Associés, 4; orders Henri de Montmorency to be beheaded, 18; referred to, 117
Rupert, Fort (Hudson Bay), captured by the French, 204

S

Sagard, Father, Récollet missionary, 3
Sainte Anne, the Brotherhood of, 101
Sainte Anne, the first sanctuary of, built by Laval, 101; gives place to a stone church erected through the efforts of M. Filion, 102; a third temple built upon its site, 102; the present cathedral built (1878), 102; the pilgrimages to, 102, 103
Sainte-Hélène, Andrée Duplessis de, 92
Sainte-Hélène, Le Moyne de, 16; takes part in an expedition to capture Hudson Bay, 204; his death at the siege of Quebec, 231
Saint-Vallier, Abbé Jean Baptiste de la Croix de, king's almoner, 199; appointed provisionally grand vicar of Laval, 201; leaves a legacy to the seminary of Quebec, 202; embarks for Canada, 202; makes a tour of his diocese, 203, 204; his extravagance, 206; pays a tribute to Laval, 209; leaves for France, 210; obtains a grant for a Bishop's Palace, 211;

his official appointment and consecration as Bishop of Quebec, 202, 219; returns to Canada, 221; opens a hospital in Notre-Dame des Anges, 236; in France from 1700 to 1705, when returning to Canada is captured by an English vessel and kept in captivity till 1710, 242, 243; the object of his visit to France, 243

*St. André*, the, 27; the plague breaks out on board, 31, 32

Ste. Anne, Fort (Hudson Bay), captured by the French, 204

St. Bernardine of Siena, quoted, 35, 36

St. François-Xavier, adopted as the second special protector of the colony, 87

St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, La Salle's burying-place, 147

St. Joachim, the seminary of Quebec has a country house at, 12; the boarding-school at, established by Laval, 100, 124, 245; receives a remembrance from Laval, 199

St. Joseph, the first patron saint of Canada, 87

St. Malo, the Bishop of, 6, 7

St. Sulpice de Montréal, see *Seminary of St. Sulpice*

St. Sulpice, the priests of, see *Sulpicians*

Salignac-Fénelon, Abbé François de, goes to the north shore of Lake Ontario to establish a mission, 103, 108; teaches the Iroquois, 125; his sermon preached against Frontenac, 160, 161; his quarrel with Frontenac, 160–5; forbidden to return to Canada, 164

Sault St. Louis (Caughnawaga), the mission of, 9, 74, 147, 189

Sault Ste. Marie, the mission of, 11; addressed by Father Allouez, 104

Seignelay, Marquis de, Colbert's son, sends four shiploads of colonists to people Louisiana, 151, 152; postpones Laval's return to Canada, 211

Seigniorial tenure, 119, 120

Seminary, the, at Quebec, founded by Laval (1663), 10; the priests of, assist in defending Quebec against Phipps, 11, 12; Laval's ordinance relating to, 47, 48; its establishment receives the royal approval, 50; obtains permission to collect tithes from the colonists, 50; its first superior and directors, 55; affiliated with the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, 57, 58; a smaller seminary built (1668), 58, 59, 97–9; the whole destroyed by fire (1701), 58, 240, 241; its union with the Seminary of Foreign Missions renewed, 140; receives a legacy from Saint-Vallier, 202; sends missionaries to Louisiana, 208; in financial difficulties, 211

Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris, affiliated with the Quebec Seminary, 57, 58; contributes to the support of the mission at Ville-Marie, 136; its union with the Quebec Seminary renewed, 140; a union with the Seminary of St. Sulpice formed, 221

Seminary of Montreal, see *Ville-Marie Convent*

Seminary of St. Sulpice, the, founded by M. Olier, 5, 6, 25; enlarged, 90; its ancient clock, 90; takes up the financial obligations of the Company of Montreal, 135; joined to the parish of Notre-Dame de Montréal, 175, 176, 183; visited by Laval, 189; affiliated with the Seminary of Foreign Missions, 221

*Seine*, the, captured by the English with Saint-Vallier on board, 242, 243

Souart, M., 91, 92, 124

Sovereign Council, the, fixes the tithe at a twenty-sixth, 10; forbids the liquor trade with the savages, 36; registers the royal approval of the establishment of the Quebec Seminary, 50; recommends that emigrants be sent only from the north of France, 78; passes a decree permitting the unrestricted sale of liquor, 113; finds it necessary to restrict the liquor trade, 115, 116; its members, 158; judges Perrot, 160; its re-construction, 165–7; a division in its ranks, 167; passes a decree affecting the policy of the Quebec Seminary, 236

Sulpicians, their entry into New France, 1; become the lords of the Island of Montreal, 8, 108; their devotion to the Virgin Mary, 85; at Ville-Marie, 92; more priests arrive, 105, 106; their religious zeal, 109; provide instruction for the colonists, 124; granted the livings of the Island of Montreal, 175, 176; request the king's confirmation of the union of their seminary with the parishes on the Island of Montreal, 183, 184

T

Talon, intendant, appointed to investigate the administration of de Mézy, 51; his immigration plans opposed by Colbert, 80; writes to Colbert in praise of the Abbé de Queylus, 107; brings out five Récollet priests, 109; obtains from the Sovereign Council a decree permitting the unrestricted sale of liquor, 113; develops the resources of the country, 114, 115; returns to France for two years, 116; praises Abbé de Queylus' work, 134, 135; retires from office, 143

Taschereau, Cardinal, 40, 86

Tesserie, M. de la, member of the Sovereign Council, 158

Tilly, Le Gardeur de, member of the Sovereign Council, 158, 166, 167

Tithes, the levying of, on the colonists, 10, 50, 51, 54; payable only to the permanent priests, 55; the edict of 1679, 181; Laval and Saint-Vallier disagree upon the question of, 208, 209

Tonti, Chevalier de, accompanies La Salle as far as Fort Crèvecœur, 148; attacked by the Iroquois and flees to Michilimack-

inac, 149; again joins La Salle and descends the Mississippi with him, 150; appointed La Salle's representative, 151
Tracy, Marquis de, viceroy, appointed to investigate the administration of de Mézy, 51; builds three forts on the Richelieu River, 53; destroys the hamlets of the Mohawks and concludes a treaty of peace with the Iroquois which lasts eighteen years, 53, 54, 82; reduces the tithe to a twenty-sixth, 54; returns to France, 81; his fine qualities, 81, 82; presents a valuable picture to the church at Sainte Anne, 102
Treaty of Ryswick, 234
Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 3, 110
Treaty of Utrecht, 235
Trouvé, Claude, goes to the north shore of Lake Ontario to establish a mission, 105, 108
Troyes, Chevalier de, leads an expedition to capture Hudson Bay, 204
Turgis, Father, 62

U

Ursuline Convent (Quebec), established by Madame de la Peltrie, 112, 155; consumed by fire, 210
Ursuline Sisters, 33, 125, 154, 231

V

Valrennes, M. de, commands Fort Frontenac, 223; 232
Vaudreuil, Chevalier de, 214; in command at Montreal, 223; opposing the Iroquois at massacre of Lachine, 226, 227; succeeds Callières as governor of Montreal, 235
Verreau, Abbé, pays a tribute to Mother Mary of the Incarnation, 127
Viel, Father, Récollet missionary, 3
Vignal, Father, ministers to the plague-stricken on board the *St. André*, 31, 32; referred to, 8, 91, 92
Ville-Marie (Montreal), the school at, founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys, 9; the Abbé de Queylus returns to, 28; takes precautions against the Iroquois, 68; the school of martyrdom, 90, 91; fortified by Denonville, 213, 214; governed by Vaudreuil in Callières' absence, 223; besieged by Winthrop, 229; references, 82, 83, 85, 122, 124, 135, 162, 178, 217
Ville-Marie Convent, founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys, 126, 127, 175, 176
Villeray, M. de, writes to Colbert, 77, 78; member of the Sovereign Council, 166, 167
Vitré, Denys de, member of the Sovereign Council, 166

W

West India Company, 81
Winthrop, Fitz-John, attacks Montreal, 229, 231

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